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1573, and proved Feb. 10, 1574. Joane Higginson's death must therefore have occurred as early as 1573, and probably much earlier; and the sum bequeathed by her would now, allowing for the difference in the value of money, be worth £70 (\$350) annually. She is probably the earliest person of the name to whom the present English and American families of Higginson can trace back their origin; but they may well be contented. A pious widow, thrifty enough to have this sum to bequeath, and generous enough, after providing for her own children, to leave it to the poor, is surely a satisfactory fountain-head for any family; nor has the spirit she manifested ever been wholly wanting among her descendants during more than three hundred years.

Thomas Higginson of Berkeswell, the son of Joane, left legacies to his sons Robert, Thomas, and George; to his daughters Joyce, Dorothy, Ursula, and Elizabeth. He also left legacies to his brothers Nicholas and Mr. John Higginson. The prefix Mr. or Magister was at that period almost wholly confined to persons in holy orders, and this makes it practically certain that this brother was a clergyman. The only English clergyman bearing these names at that period, as appears from the records of the two universities Oxford and Cambridge, was the Rev. John Higginson, who was of Jesus College, Cambridge, B.A. 1564-5 and M.A. 1568. He was instituted to the Perpetual Vicarage of Claybrooke, Jan. 23, 1571-2, as appears by

the Institution Books at the Public Record Office in London.¹

It appears, from Nichols's History of Leicestershire, that the Rev. John Higginson was the vicar of the parish of Claybrooke, beginning in 1571, and that he was living and doing duty in 1623. As his successor was not in office before 1624, he may have continued until that year. There is a tradition in the Marlow (England) branch of the family, that this venerable clergyman, from whom they also are descended, lived and did his duty as a clergyman till the age of one hundred and four, and was then drowned by the sudden rising of a brook as he was returning from church. The above dates would indicate that John Higginson was certainly vicar for fifty-two years, and possibly for a yet longer period.

Very old records preserved in the American branch of the family give the following quaint and suggestive list of the children of the Rev. John Higginson, of Claybrooke, Leicester : —

"1. *John*, a gentleman that kept high company.

"2. *Francis* (the first Minister of Salem, N. E.).

"3. *Nathaniel*, he was owner of a castle in Ireland, but lost in the Rebellion.

"4. *Nicholas*, he was father of Henry the Goldsmith of Liverpool.

"5. *William*.

"And four (4) daughters, married to Andrews, Coleman, Gilbert, and Perkins."

¹ Col. J. L. Chester, MS.

² Vol. iv. pp. 112, 114.

It is farther known that this eldest son, the "gentleman that kept high company," was a freeholder in the parish of Leire, adjoining that of Claybrooke,¹ and that in the tower of the church at Claybrooke — this tower being supposed to have been erected in 1614 — that date is twice inscribed on the walls, with the name of Nicholas Higginson appended.² Two brothers of Francis Higginson are thus identified ; but the diligent researches of Colonel Chester have failed to find any record of the will of their father, from which additional information might doubtless have been obtained. He probably left none ; at any rate, none was ever proved at London, Lincoln, or Lichfield, the only three registries where one should have been proved. The early registers of Claybrooke have been lost, so that there is no record of the baptisms of his children ; nor did the transcripts in the diocesan registry at Lincoln begin till 1598, nor are those preserved. None of the wills of his children are in London, and the only clew afforded by any will is in the case of the youngest daughter, Elizabeth. She married John Perkins, of Anstey, co. Warwick, Gentleman ; and his will, dated April 1, 1618, was proved by her in June following. He left £10 to his brother-in-law John Higginson — the "gentleman who kept high company" — and his wife ; and five marks to each of his children.

¹ Nichols's Leicestershire, iv. 242.

² Ibid., p. 107.

We have thus some direct traces of three of Francis Higginson's brothers and sisters, but the rest remain names only. It would be interesting to know more of him who owned an Irish castle, and of him who began by scratching his name on Claybrooke Church and was afterward the progenitor of Henry the Goldsmith; but it is not likely that we ever shall know it. Francis Higginson was probably born in 1587-8, and was, like his father, of Jesus College, Cambridge, taking his B.A. degree in 1609-10, and that of M.A. in 1613. Nothing further appears in regard to him on the records of Jesus College, — records which at that period were very scanty. A letter from the Rev. Dr. Cowie, Master of Jesus College, to Colonel Chester says: "The Registers of this College, in which the names of the several students and particulars of their parentage and birthplaces are generally recorded, do not go further back than 1619. Before that date their surnames are merely recorded, not often their Christian names, much less that of their parents and birthplaces. I regret, therefore, that I cannot help you further in the matter of Francis Higginson." This corresponds with what was told me verbally at Cambridge (England) in 1872, and it is probable that no further information is to be obtained. American authorities have variously assigned Francis Higginson to St. John's College, to Emanuel College, and to Jesus College; but it was left to that unwearied antiquary, Colonel Chester, to determine finally the fact that he took both his degrees at the same col-

lege, and that college his father's. What his precise life at the University may have been we do not know directly ; but enough is known of the time and place for us to conjecture, with some degree of certainty, what it must have been.

II.

AN ENGLISH UNIVERSITY THREE CENTURIES AGO.

Towards the middle of the sixteenth century the old learning began to be left, in the University, and a better succeeded in the room thereof. Hitherto Cambridge had given suck with but one breast, teaching Arts only without languages. . . . But now the students began to make sallies into the learned languages, which the industry of the next age did completely conquer. — FULLER *History of Cambridge*, p. 164.

KNOWING nothing by direct evidence of Francis Higginson's college life, we yet know in a general way what it must have been. The college selected was that in which his father had studied, Jesus College, and was then, as now, one of the intermediate colleges in Cambridge University, — neither largest nor smallest, neither oldest nor youngest. It ranks tenth in date of origin, and in 1888 seventh in number of pupils. It was already famous in Francis Higginson's day as the College of Cranmer; and the fame was later prolonged through the names of eighteen other English bishops; of Eliot, the Indian Apostle, of Flamsteed the astronomer, Hartley the metaphysician, Ockley the Orientalist, Jortin the theologian; of Laurence Sterne and his friend John Hall Stevenson, the *Eugenius* of Sterne.¹ Visitors to Cambridge will

¹ Ackermann's *History of the University of Cambridge*, ii. 20.

remember the somewhat isolated and stately air of Jesus College; its sombre brick walls and ancient gateway; its heavy tower, surmounting a chapel of the twelfth century; and the meadows, extending to the river, and still making the situation beautiful.

It makes Francis Higginson's university career seem a great way off, to consider that he was at Cambridge twenty years before Milton, — twenty years before that great period described by Mullinger (1632), when Milton, Fuller, Henry More, Cudworth, Crashaw, and Jeremy Taylor might probably have been met on the same day in the streets of Cambridge.¹ But he was there at a period when the great influence of Erasmus had already given a new impulse to university studies. After Erasmus became professor of Greek, as he himself claimed, not that study alone, but all others were amplified. "There was an accession of good learning, the knowledge of Mathematics came in; a new and indeed a renewed Aristotle came in; so many authors came in, whose very names were anciently unknown. To wit, it (the University) hath flourished so much that it may contend with the prime schools of this age; and hath such men therein, to whom if such be compared that were in the age before, they will seem rather shadows of divines than divines."²

Roger Ascham wrote somewhat later of Cambridge (in 1540): "You would not know it to be the same place. . . . Aristotle and Plato are read by 'boys'

¹ Mullinger, *Cambridge in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 26.

² Erasmus, *Epistolae*, ii. 10, quoted by Mullinger, p. 15.

in the original, and have been now for five years. Sophocles and Euripides are now more familiar here than Plautus was in your time. Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon are more often on the lips and hands of all than Livy was then. What was then said of Cicero you may now hear said of Demosthenes. More copies of Isocrates are now in the 'boys' hands than of Terence then. Meanwhile we do not scorn the Latins, but most ardently embrace the best authors who flourished in that golden age."¹ In the reign of Elizabeth there were also created four lectures, dealing respectively with Rhetoric, Logic, Philosophy, and Mathematics;² and though the text-books and the methods of their teaching were drawn from the classical authors, yet that was the inevitable means of instruction in that age, and the mere list of authors above given shows that the students were trained on the masterpieces of literature.³ There was a four-years undergraduate course, and a three-years graduate course; and the average age of entrance was from fourteen to sixteen years, although Francis Higginson appears to have entered at seventeen or eighteen. Morning chapel was at five, dinner in hall at noon, evening chapel and supper in the hall at seven. Students were in residence for the whole year; they were habitually confined within the walls of their college, except when they left them to attend general exercises; if allowed by special permission to go into the town,

¹ Ascham, *Epist.* 74, quoted by Mullinger, p. 17.

² Mullinger, p. 18.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

a tutor or Master of Arts must be their escort. They could not keep dogs or fierce birds; they could only play at cards or dice at Christmas time; they were liable to corporal punishment; and Dr. Johnson, following Aubrey, says that Milton was one of the last who suffered this, although Mr. Masson disputes the charge.¹ We are, on the whole, less familiar with the internal condition of Cambridge than of Oxford, at the beginning of the seventeenth century; but it is known that the principle of conferring degrees on examination, a principle not recognized at Oxford until 1638, had been the practice at Cambridge a century before. This undoubtedly contributed to that higher intellectual standing of Cambridge at the time of the Puritan emigration which the recognized historian of the English universities, Huber, concedes.² On the other hand, Sir Simonds d'Ewes declares, writing of Cambridge in 1620, seven years after Francis Higginson left it, that "swearing, drinking, rioting, and hatred of all piety and virtue under false and adulterate names did abound there and generally in all the university."³ He was a fellow-commoner at St. John's, and may have generalized too hastily from his own college. In a paper submitted to Archbishop Laud in 1636, of which Dr. Sterne, Master of Jesus College, was one of the signers, the complaints made were of ultra-Puritan practices in devotion side by side with too much of

¹ Mullinger, pp. 27, 28; Masson's *Milton*, i. 136

² Huber's *English Universities*, vol. ii. part i. pp. 41, 59, 252.

³ Quoted by Mullinger, p. 30.

"supper-money" and of "fair and feminine cuffs at the wrist."¹ This was after Francis Higginson's time ; but it is certain that plays were freely acted by the students, even in his day. Fuller, for instance, describes a "merry but abusive comedy" composed by the students in 1597 and called "Club Law." It was intended to satirize the mayor, aldermen, and townspeople generally ; and as these constituted the main audience, much scandal followed. Again, in 1602, a play called "The Return from Parnassus, or the Scourge of Simony" was enacted at St. John's College ; and another play called "Ignoramus" is said to have so delighted King James that he revisited Cambridge to see it again. Mede describes the "Fraus Honesta," written by Philip Stubbe, a fellow of Trinity, as being produced in 1616 on the visit of Lord Holland and the French ambassador. There were two thousand present in the great hall of Trinity ; and the undergraduates smoked, hissed, threw pellets, and set the proctors at defiance.² Such scenes as this Francis Higginson may have witnessed ; perhaps with such aversion as they afterward inspired in Milton, who describes in his "Apology for Smectymnus" the "young divines and those of next aptitude for divinity . . . so oft upon the stage, writhing and unboning their clergy limbs to all the antic and dishonest gestures." He perhaps here refers to John Powers, who had taken the part of "Dullman" in the

¹ Peacock's Statutes of the University of Cambridge, p. 62.

² Mullinger, pp. 39, 40.

play of "Ignoramus," and being afterward Bishop of Peterborough was recognized by King James as one of the actors in his favourite play.¹ Milton goes on in wrath: "There, while they acted and overacted, among other young scholars, I was a spectator: they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools; they made sport, and I laughed." Whether Francis Higginson laughed or sighed, we know not; but in remembering the university training of the fathers of New England, we can by no means leave these revels out of sight. But it seems altogether in keeping with the gentle and thoughtful nature of Francis Higginson if we assume that he, like Milton, spent those early years "far from all vice" (*procul omni flagitio*).²

For more serious studies we can only conjecture, from the general testimony, that the more purely classical training introduced by Erasmus was now waning, and that there was a transfer of interest toward patristic literature. In Sir Simonds d'Ewes' time (1620) the students read something of Aristotle and Demosthenes, with authors now so little esteemed as Florus and Aulus Gellius; and he himself read, for "recreation," Spenser's "Faerie Queene."³ Lucretius had been reprinted in England in 1564, and Pindar in 1619; but these did not compare in importance to the costly edition of Chrysostom, published in eight volumes by Sir Henry Saville in 1612; and this probably indicates in some degree the relative value

¹ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 244, quoted by Mullinger, p. 43.

² Masson, i. 235.

³ Ibid., 229.

then attached to the classical and the patristic literature. It is to be remembered that John Harvard, coming to America in 1637, brought with him, in his library, Horace and Homer, Plato and Juvenal. It is impossible to judge from Francis Higginson's writings what authors he had read; but it is worth noticing that their pure and limpid simplicity escapes wholly that overlading with foreign forms and phrases which weighed down the English style, a few years later, even of men so renowned as Milton, Jeremy Taylor, and Sir Thomas Browne. There is in all which Francis Higginson wrote an utter simplicity, a limpid clearness, and an entire freedom from involved sentences or pedantic allusions. Moses Coit Tyler, the historian of early American literature, says of him truly: "Unlabored as is the composition of both his books, we find in them a delicate felicity of expression and a quiet, imaginative picturesqueness."¹ Possibly this was trained, as Sir Simonds d'Ewes says of himself, by the habit of writing "frequent Latin letters and more frequent English," and by the answers received to those letters. D'Ewes says that he himself was especially profited by the letters of his father, "whose English style was very sententious and lofty."² Perhaps the English style of the Rev. John Higginson's letters was simple and lucid, like that of his son.

¹ Tyler's *History of American Literature*, i. 167.

² Masson, i. 229.

III.

THE EVOLUTION OF A PURITAN DIVINE.

We will therefore begin the history of his life where we find that he began to live. — MATHER'S *Magnalia* (of Francis Higginson), i. 323.

WE know, at any rate, that Francis Higginson took his degree of M.A. in 1613, and that two years later he was settled over the Claybrooke parish, apparently as curate to his father, who had then, in 1615, been in office forty-four years. Cotton Mather, who at this point takes up his record, writing in 1702, defines this settlement at Claybrooke as the point where Francis Higginson "began to live." He says apologetically,—

"If, in the history of the church for more than four thousand years, contained in the scriptures, there is not recorded either the *birthday* of any one saint whatever or the *birthday* of him that is the *Lord of all saints*; I hope it will be accounted no defect in our history of this worthy man [Francis Higginson] if neither the *day* nor the *place* of his *birth* can be recovered. We will therefore begin the history of his life where we find that he began to *live*."

He then enters on the narrative, making, it will be seen, a mistake as to the college where the subject of his memoir was educated.

“Mr. *Francis Higginson*, after he had been educated at *Emanuel-Colledge*, that seminary of Puritans in *Cambridge*, until he was *Master of Arts* : and after that, the true *Emanuel*, our Lord Jesus Christ, had by the work of *regeneration* upon his heart, instructed him in the better and nobler *arts*, of *living unto God* ; he was, by the special providence of heaven, made a servant of our *Emanuel*, in the ministry of the gospel, at one of the five parish-churches in *Leicester*. The main scope of his ministry was now to promote, first, a thorough *conversion*, and then a godly *conversation* among his people : and besides his *being* as the famous *preacher in the wilderness* was, a voice, and preaching lectures of christianity by his whole christian and most courteous and obliging behaviour, he *had* also a most charming *voice*, which rendered him unto his hearers, in all his exercises, another *Ezekiel* : for, *Lo, he was unto them*, as a *very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well upon an instrument* · and from all parts in the neighbourhood they flocked unto him. Such was the divine presence with, and blessing on the ministry of this good man, in this place, that the influence thereof on the whole town was quickly become a matter of observation : many were turned from *darkness to light, and from Satan to God* ; and many were *built up in their most holy faith* ; and there was a notable revival of religion among them. And such were his endeavours to *conform* unto the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, our grand *Exemplar*, in the whole course of his ministry,

that we might easily have written a *book of those conformities*.

“For some years he continued in his *conformity* to the rites then required and practised in the Church of *England*, but upon his acquaintance with *Mr. Arthur Hildersham* and *Mr. Thomas Hooker*, he set himself to study the controversies about the evangelical church-discipline then agitated in the church of God: and then the more he studied the scripture, which is the sole and full rule of church-administrations, the more he became dissatisfied with the ceremonies, which had crept into the worship of the Lord Jesus Christ, not only without the allowance of *scripture*, but also without the countenance of the earliest *antiquity*. From this time he became a conscientious *non-conformist*; and therefore he was deprived of his opportunity to exercise his ministry, in his parish-church: nevertheless, his ministry was generally so desirable unto the people, that they procured for him the liberty to preach a constant lecture, on one part of the Lord’s day; and on the other part, as an assistant unto a very aged parson, that wanted it. He was now maintained by the voluntary contribution of the inhabitants; and though the rest of the ministers there continued *conformists*, yet they all freely invited him unto the use of their pulpits, as long as they could avoid any trouble to themselves by their so doing: by which means he preached successively in *three* of the parish-churches, after that he had been by *non-conformity* made incapable. He preached also at *Belgrave*, a

remarkable providences laid a restraint upon them, and the malignants were smitten with a dread upon their minds, *That the judgments of God would pursue those that should go to harm such a follower of him that is good.*

“ Even the *Episcopal party* of the *English nation*, among whose *thirty nine articles* one is, *That the visible church is a congregation of faith-ful men, where the word of Christ is duly preached, and the sacraments be rightly administred*; have concluded it, as a *godly discipline* in the *primitive Church*, that *notorious sinners were put to open penance*. And in the *rubric* before the *communion*, have ordered ministers to advertise all notorious evil livers, and such as have wronged their neighbours by word or deed, or such as have malice and hatred reigning between them, that *they should not presume to come to the Lord's table, till they have openly declared themselves to have truly repented*. Under the encouragement hereof, Mr. *Higginson*, before he became a *non-conformist*, professed this principle, *That ignorant and scandalous persons are not to be admitted unto the Lord's Supper*: and as far as he could, he practised what he professed. Wherefore he did *catechise* and *examine* persons about their fitness for the *communion*; and if any persons were notoriously *scandalous*, he not only told them of their sins in private, but also in publick declared, that they were not to be admitted unto the *Lord's Supper*, until the congregation had some testimonies of their serious *repentance*.

“It was a good courage of old Cyprian, to declare : *If any think to join themselves unto the church, not by their humiliation and satisfaction, when they have scandalized the brethren, but by their great words and threats, let them know, that the church of God will oppose them, and the tents of Christ will not be conquered by them.* And no less was the good metal in our *Higginson*. Accordingly after a sermon on those words of our Saviour, *Give not that which is holy unto dogs*, unto this purpose applied, going to administer the *Lord's Supper* unto the communicants, now come into the chancel, he espied one that was known unto them all, to be a common *drunkard* and *swearer*, and a very vicious person ; he told that man before them all, *That he was not willing to give the Lord's Supper unto him, until he had professed his repentance, unto the satisfaction of the congregation :* and therefore he desired the man to withdraw : the sinner withdrew, but went out full of such passion and poison against Mr. *Higginson*, and horror in his own conscience, that he fell sick upon it ; and while he lay sick he was visited, as well by good people that endeavoured his conversion, as by bad people that had been his old companions, and now threatned what they would do against Mr. *Higginson*. The wretch continued in an exorbitant frame for a few days, and at last roared out, *That he was damned, and that he was a dog, and that he was going to the dogs forever.* So he cried, and so he died : and this was *known to all people.*

“There were many such marvellous judgments of

God, which came like fire from heaven, to restrain and revenge the wrongs which were offered unto this faithful *witness* of our Lord Jesus Christ. Particularly, there was a pious gentlewoman, the wife of a very *profane* gentleman, dwelling in another parish, who would frequently go to attend upon Mr. *Higginson's* ministry, both in the publick and private exercises of our holy religion; whereat her husband, after many other expressions of his deep displeasure, vowed, that he would be revenged on *Higginson*; and accordingly he resolved upon a journey to *London*, there to exhibit a complaint against this good man, at the *High-Commission* Court. but when he had got all things ready for his journey, just as he was mounting his horse, he was, by an immediate hand of heaven, smitten with an intolerable *torment* of body, and horror of conscience, and was led into his house, and laid upon his bed; where, within a few hours, *death* did his office upon him.

“And unto the remarkable appearances of heaven on the behalf of this *faithful man*, may be enumerated that which befel a famous Doctor of Divinity, prebend of a cathedral, and chaplain to his Majesty, who then lived in *Leicester*: this *gentleman* preached but very seldom; and when he did at all, it was after that fashion, which has sometimes been called *gentleman-preaching*; after a flaunting manner, and with such a vain ostentation of *learning*, and affectation of *language*, as ill-became the oracles of God; the people generally flocking more to the more edifying ministry of Mr. *Higginson*, than to these harangues.

Our Doctor so extremely resented it, that both publicly and privately, on all opportunities, he expressed his indignation against Mr. *Higginson*, and vowed, *That he would certainly drive him out of the town.* Now it so fell out, that the Sheriff appointed this Doctor to preach at the General Assizes there, and gave him a quarter of a year's time to provide a sermon for that occasion: but in all this time, he could not provide a sermon unto his own satisfaction; insomuch, that a fortnight before the time was expired, he expressed unto some of his friends a despair of being well provided: wherefore his friends perswaded him to try; telling him, that if it came to the worst, Mr. *Higginson* might be procured to preach in his room; he was always ready. The Doctor was wonderfully averse unto this last proposal, and therefore studied with all his might, for an *agreeable sermon*; but he had such a blast from heaven upon his poor studies, that the very night before the Assizes began, he sent his wife to the devout lady *Cave*, who prevailed with Mr. *Higginson* to supply his place the day ensuing; which he did, with a most suitable, profitable, and acceptable sermon; and unto the great satisfaction of the auditory. When the lady *Cave* had let it be known, how this thing, which was much wondered at, came about, the common discourse of the town upon it so confounded the Doctor, that he left the town, vowing, *That he would never come into it again.* Thus Mr. *Higginson* was left in the town! but, I pray, who was driven out?

“ We lately styled Mr. *Higginson* a *faithful man*: and innumerable were the instances, wherein he so approved himself, particularly there was a time when many courtiers, lords, and gentlemen coming in a frolick to *Leicester*, which was counted a *puritanical* town, resolved, that they would put a trick upon it. Wherefore, they invited the *Mayor and Aldermen*, whereof divers were esteemed *puritans*, unto a *collation*; and overcome them to drink a number of *healths*, with the accustomed ceremonies of drinking upon their knees, till they all became shamefully and extremely *drunk*. This business becoming the common discourse of the town *Mr. Higginson*, from a text chosen to the purpose, in the audience of the *Mayor and Aldermen* themselves, demonstrated the sinfulness of *health-drinking*, and of *drunkenness*, and the aggravation of that sinfulness, when it is found in *magistrates*, whose duty 't is to punish it in other men: therewithal admonishing *them* to repent seriously of the scandal which they had given. This faithfulness of *Mr. Higginson* was variously resented; some of the people disliked it very much, and some of the *Aldermen* were so disturbed and enraged at it that they *breathed out threatnings* till they were *out of breath*: but the better sort of people generally approved it, as a conformity to that rule, *them that sin before all, rebuke before all, that others may fear*; and several of the *Aldermen* confessed their sin with a very penitent and pertinent ingenuity. The issue was that *Mr. Higginson* was brought into no trouble;

and the God of Heaven so disposed the hearts of the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, that after this, upon the death of old Mr. *Sacheverel*, they chose Mr. *Higginson* to be their *town-preacher*, unto which place there was annexed a large maintainance, to be paid out of the town treasury. In answer hereunto, Mr. *Higginson* thanked them for their good will ; but he told them, that he could not accept of it, because there were some degrees of conformity therein required, which he could not now comply withal ; nevertheless there being divers competitors for the place, about whom the votes of the *Aldermen* were much divided, he prevailed with them to give their votes for a learned and godly conformist, one Mr. *Angel* ; who thereby came to be settled in it. There were also made unto him, several offers of some of the greatest and richest livings in the country thereabouts ; but the conscientious disposition to *non-conformity* now growing upon him, hindred his acceptance of them.

“ While Mr. *Higginson* continued in *Leicester*, he was not only a *good man full of faith*, but also a *good man full of work*. He preached constantly in the parish churches ; and he was called, while a *conformist*, frequently to preach *visitation* sermons, *assize* sermons and *funeral* sermons ; and as well *then*, as *afterwards*, he was often engaged in *fasts*, both in publick and private, both at home and abroad ; and many repaired unto him with *cases of conscience*, and for help about their *interiour state*. Besides all this, he was very serviceable to the education of *scholars*, either going

to, or coming from the university; and such as afterwards proved eminently serviceable to the church of God; whereof some were Dr. *Seaman*, Dr. *Brian*, Mr. *Richardson*, and Mr. *Howe*, all of them *Leicestershire* men, who would often say, how much they owed unto Mr. *Higginson*. And he was very useful in forwarding and promoting of contributions, for the relief of the *protestant exiles*, which came over from the ruined *Bohemia*, and the distressed *Palatinate*, in those times; and many other pious designs. But when (as he that writes the life of holy Mr. *Barnes* expresses it) *the hour and power of darkness was come from Lambeth*, or when the Bishop of *London* prevailed, and the Bishop of *Lincoln* retired, the blades of the *Laudian* faction about *Leicester* appeared, informed and articulated against Mr. *Higginson*, so that he lived in continual expectation to be dragged away by the pursevants, unto the *High Commission Court*, where a sentence of *perpetual imprisonment* was the best thing that could be looked for.

“Now behold the interposing and seasonable providence of heaven! A considerable number of wealthy and worthy merchants, obtaining a charter from *K. Charles I.* whereby they were incorporated by the name of *The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England*; and intending to send over ships with passengers for the beginning of a *plantation* there, in the beginning of the year 1629. And resolving to send none upon their account, but *godly* and *honest* men, professing that religion, which

they declared was the end of this plantation ; they were informed of the circumstances whereto Mr. *Higginson* was now reduced ; and accordingly they dispatched a couple of messengers unto him, to invite him unto a voyage into *New England*, with kind promises to support him in the voyage. These two messengers were ingenious men ; and understanding that *pursevants* were expected every hour, to fetch Mr. *Higginson* up to London, they designed for a while to act the parts of *pursevants* : coming therefore to his door, they knocked roundly and loudly, like fellows equipped with some authority ; and said, *where is Mr. Higginson ? we must speak with Mr. Higginson !* insomuch that his affrighted wife ran up to him, telling him that the *pursevants* were come, and praying him to step aside out of their way, but Mr. *Higginson* said, *No, I will go down and speak with them ; and the will of the Lord be done !* When the messengers were come into the hall, they held out their papers unto him, and with a certain roughness and boldness of address told him, *Sir, we come from London, and our business is to fetch you up to London, as you may see by these papers !* which they then put into his hands ; whereat the people in the room were confirmed in their opinion, that these blades were *pursevants* ; and Mrs. *Higginson* herself said, *I thought so :* and fell a weeping. But when Mr. *Higginson* had lookt upon the papers, he soon perceived, that they were letters from the governor and company inviting him to *New England* ; with a copy of the charter, and propositions

for managing their design of establishing and propagating *reformed christianity* in the new plantation : whereupon he bad them *welcome!* and there ensued a pleasant conversation betwixt him and his now undisguised friends. In answer to this invitation, Mr. *Higginson* having first consulted heaven with humble and fervent supplications, for the divine direction about so great a turn of his life, he advised then with several ministers ; especially with his dear friend Mr. *Hildersham*, who told him, *That were he himself a younger man, and under his case and call, he should think he had a plain invitation of heaven unto the voyage ;* and so he came unto a resolution to comply therewithal.

“When Mr. *Higginson’s* resolution came to be known, it made so much noise among the *Puritans*, that many of them receiving satisfaction unto the many enquiries which they made on this occasion, resolved that they would accompany him. And now it was not long before his *farewel sermon* was to be preached ! before he knew anything about an offer of a voyage to *New-England*. In his meditations about the state of *England*, he had strange and strong apprehensions that God would shortly punish *England* with the calamities of a war, and he therefore composed a sermon upon those words of our Saviour, *Luke* *xxi.* 20, 21, *When you see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then flee to the mountains.* Now, after he was determined for *New-England*, he did, in a vast assembly, preach *this* for his *farewel sermon*,

and therein having mentioned unto them, what he took to be the provoking sins of *England* in general, and of *Leicester* in particular, he plainly told them, that he was perswaded God would chastise *England* with a *war*, in the sufferings whereof *Leicester* would have a more than ordinary share. How this *prediction* was afterwards accomplished, is known to mankind; and it was especially known to Leicester, which being strongly fortified and garrisoned, and having the wealth of all the country about brought into it, was besieged, and at length carried by storm; and the town was horribly plundered, and eleven hundred people were slain in the streets.

“But Mr. *Higginson* having ended this his prophetical sermon, he gave thanks to the magistrates, and the other Christians of the place, for all the liberty, countenance, and encouragement which they had given unto his ministry: and he told them of his intended removal to *New-England*, the principal end of which plantation, he then declared, was the propagation of religion, and of the hopes which he had, that *New England* might be designed by heaven, as a *refuge* and *shelter* for the non-conformists against the storms that were coming upon the nation, and a region where they might practise the *church-reformation*, which they had been bearing *witness* unto. And so he concluded with a most affectionate prayer for the King, the church, the state, and peculiarly for *Leicester*, the seat of his former labours. And after this he took his journey, with his family, for *London*;

the streets as he passed along being filled with people of all sorts, who bid him *farewel*, with loud prayers and cries for his welfare.

"When he came to *London*, he found three ships ready to sail for *New-England*, with two more, that were in a month's time to follow after them: filled with godly and honest passengers, among whom there were two other *non-conformist* ministers. They set sail from the Isle of *Wight*, about the first of *May*, 1629, and when they came to the Land's End, Mr. *Higginson* calling up his children and other passengers unto the stern of the ship, to take their last sight of *England*. He said, *We will not say as the separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, Farewel Babylon! farewel Rome! but we will say, farewel dear England! farewel the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there! We do not go to New-England as separatists from the Church of England; though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it: but we go to practise the positive part of church reformation, and propagate the gospel in America.* And so he concluded with a fervent prayer for the King, and church, and state, in *England*; and for the presence and blessing of God with themselves, in their present undertaking for *New-England*. At length by the good hand of God upon them, they arrived, after a comfortable passage, unto *Salem* harbour on the *twenty-fourth of June* ensuing."¹

¹ Mather's *Magnalia* (ed. 1820), ii. 322-328.

IV.

MIGRATION TO THE NEW WORLD.

What golden gaine made HIGGINSON remove
 From fertile soyle to wildernesse of rocks ?
 'T was Christ's rich pearle stir'd up the toil to love
 For him to feede in wildernesse his flocks.
 First Teacher he, here, Sheepe and Lambs together ;
 First crown'd shall be he, in the Heavens, of all
 Christ's Pastors here, but yet Christ's folk had rather
 Him here retain , blest he whom Christ hath call'd.

JOHNSON. *Wonder-Working Providence, etc.* (1654).

OF this voyage we have fortunately the journal as kept by Francis Higginson: but we must first consider the circumstances under which he was sent to the New World. In the folio volume of early records of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, still preserved at the Boston State House, and carefully edited, in 1853, by the late Dr. N. B. Shurtleff, we find in the first undated list, headed, —

“ To provide to send for Newe England,”

the following simple entries : —

“ Ministers ;

“ Pattent under seale ;

“ A seale ;

"Wheate, rye, barley, oates, a hhed [hogshead] of ech in the eare ; benes, pease ;

"Stones of all sorts of fruites, as peaches, plums, filberts, cherries."

And so on, with a long list of things needful, winding up with "tame turkeys" and "copp. kettells, of y^e F[ren]ch making, wthout barrs of iron about them." But the "ministers" head the list and rank first.

Yet the demand for ministers, though first in importance among all demands, was not therefore the need most easy to supply. At the meetings of the Company which followed they contracted for ordnance, "demie culverings," "sackers," and "iron drakes ;" they ordered for one voyage, "45 tun beere," and "6 tuns of water ;" they "agreed with Jno. Hewson to make 8 pere of welt neates leather sheues ;" they accepted James Edmonds, "a saylor, ffisher, and a couper ;" Thomas Graves, "a man experienced in iron workes," and Richard Clayton, carpenter ; but it was not until March 23, 1628, that they again approached the question of "ministers." Then we find this brief record :—

[23] March, 1828.

Present, The Govno^r
Deputy
S^r Rich : Saltonstall
M^r Davinport
Capt. Venn

Mr. Humffry
Mr. W^m Vassall
Mr. Whetcomb
Mr. Nowell

"At this meeting information was given by Mr. Nowell, by letters ffrom Mr. Izake Johnson, that one Mr. Higgeson, of Lester, an able minister, pffers to goe to o^r plantation; who, being approved for a reverend, grave minister, fitt for o^r present occations, it was thought by thes present to entreat Mr. Jno. Humfry to ride presently to Lester, and, if Mr. Higgeson may conveniently be had to goe this present vioage, that he should deale wth him; ffirst, if his remove from thence may be wthout scandall to that people, and approved by the consent of some of the best affected among them, wth the approbation of Mr. Hheldersham of Asheby, dallisouch;¹ secondly, that in regard of the shortenenes of the time, the Company conseave it would be best, if hee so thought good, to leave his wiffe & ffamily till towards Bartholemew, for ther better accomadaçon; yet if this should be held inconvenient [it] may be refferred to himselfe to take [his wife and tw]o children wth him; thurdly, that for his entertaynment y^e Company . . . [hiatus in manuscript]."²

¹ Isaac Johnson was the largest contributor to the Company's stock; and his wife, "the Lady Arbella," was daughter of the Earl of Lincoln. His seat was near Leicester, and he doubtless knew Higginson personally. See Bacon's *Genesis of the New England Churches*, p. 459, note.

² I. e., Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

³ Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, I. 37. 38. Reprinted (with spelling modernized) in *Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 65.

It is to be presumed that the ride of Mr. Humfry and the counsel of Mr. Hildersham proved equally satisfactory to all concerned. The Rev. Mr. Hildersham, here mentioned, was one of the Puritan leaders in England, and was known as *Malleus Haereticorum* for his "singular learning and piety." "It is affirmed," says Hubbard, "that Mr. Hildersham advised Mr. Higginson and other ministers looking this way to agree upon their form of church government before they came away from England."¹ A leaf of the records is here missing; but Prince, who evidently had it, says that at this meeting they chose Mr. Endicott as Governor of the Plantation, and Messrs. Higginson, Skelton, and Bright (ministers), with Messrs. John and Samuel Brown, Thomas Graves, and Samuel Sharp as members of his council.² The first general letter of instructions from the Company to these officials confirms this statement.³ This makes plain, what might not at first be manifest to the modern reader, how large a share of civic as well as religious authority was given to "the ministers." The Company's letter (April 17, 1629) ordered that the whole body of the local government should consist of thirteen members, and suggested that two of these should be appointed by the few "old planters," as they were called, who had gone out previously to the organized emigration, — that is, provided they would accept the government of the Company;

¹ Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 66

² *Ibid.*, p. 66.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

otherwise the eight men originally designated should appoint the remaining five, making up, in all, "The Council of the Mattachusetts Bay."¹

With Francis Higginson personally the agreement of the Company was as follows, as preserved by Hutchinson:—

The Agreement with Mr. Higginson. A true note of the allowance that the New England Company gave by common consent and order of their court and counsell granted unto Mr. Francis Higginson, minister, for his maintenance in New England, April 8, 1629.

1. Imprimis, that 30*l.* in money shall be forthwith paid him by the Companyes treasurer towards the chardges of fitting himself with apparell and other necessaryes for his voyage.

2. Item, that 10*l.* more shall be payed over by the said treasurer towards the providing of books for present use.

3. Item, that he shall have 30*l.* yearly paid him for three yeares to beginne from the tyme of his first arrivall in New England; and so to be accounted and paid him at the end of every yeare.

4. Item, that during the said tyme the Company shall provide for him and his family necessaryes of diett, housing and firewood; and shall be att charges of transporting him into New England: And at the

¹ Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 145. It is to be noticed that the name of the colony, like those of its officials, is spelled with the latitude prevailing in those days.

end of the said 3 yeares, if he shall not like to continue there any longer, to be at the charge of transporting him backe for England.

5. Item, that in convenient tyme an house shall be built, and certayne lands allotted thereunto; which during his stay in the country and continuance in the ministry shall bee for his use; and after his death or removall the same to be for succeeding ministers.

6. Item, at the expiration of the said 3 yeares an 100 acres of land shall be assigned to him and his heires forever.

7. Item, that in case hee shall depart this life in that country, the said Company shall take care for his widdow during her widdowhood and aboade in that country and plantation; and the like for his children whilst they remaine upon the said plantation.

8. Item, that the milke of 2 kyne shall bee appointed towards the chardges of diete for him and his familye as aforesaid, and halfe the increase of calves during the said 3 years: But the said 2 kyne, and the other halfe of the increase to returne to the Company at the end of the said 3 years.

9. Item, that he shall have liberty of carrying over bedding, linnen, brasse, iron, pewter, of his owne for his necessary use during the said tyme.

10. Item, that if he continue 7 years upon the said plantation, that then 100 acres of land more shall be allotted him for him and his for ever.¹

¹ Hutchinson's Collections (Prince Society's reprint), i. 26.

In connection with this, a document was signed by Messrs. Higginson and Skelton, based partly on a previous contract made by the Company with Rev. Francis Bright, who came out with the others, but did not remain long in the colony.¹

Messrs. Higginson's and Skelton's Contract.

The 8 of April, 1629. Mr. ffancis Higgeson and Mr. Samuell Skelton intended ministers of this plantation, and it being thought meete to consider of their entertainment, who expressing their willingness, together also with Mr. ffancis Bright, being now present to doe their endeavour in their places of the ministerie, as well in preaching, catechisinge, as also in teaching or causing to be taught the Company's servants and their children, wherby to their vttermost to further the maine end of this plantation, being by the assistance of Almighty God the conversion of the salvages; the propositions and agreements concluded on with Mr. ffancis Bright the second of ffebruary last, were reciprocally accepted of by Mr. ffancis Higgeson and Mr. Samuell Skelton, who are in every respect to have the like conditions as Mr. Bright hath, only whereas Mr. Higgeson hath eight children, it is intended that £10 more yearly shalbe allowed him towarde their chardges; And is agreed that the increase to be improved of all their grounds during the

¹ He soon left Salem for Charlestown, and in about a year returned to England. Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 316.

first 3 years, shalbe at the Companies disposeinge, who are to find their dyet during that tyme; and £10 more to Mr. Higgeson, towards his present fitting him and his for the voyage.

FFRANCIS HIGGESON.

SAMUEL SKELTON.

Furthermore, though it was not mentioned in the agreement, but forgotten, Mr. Higgeson was promised a man seruant to take care and look to his things, and to catch him fish and foule and provide other things needfull and also two maid seruants to look to his family.¹

¹ Felt's *Annals of Salem* (2d ed), 1. 511; Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 211 Hutchinson does not include this document.

V.

"GENERALL CONSIDERATIONS" FOR THE
PLANTING OF NEW ENGLAND.

The land growes weary of her inhabitants, so that man, which is the most precious of all creatures, is here more vile and base than the earth they tread upon. — *Generall Considerations* (*Consideration Third*).

THERE is in existence a document, long attributed, on the high authority of Hutchinson, to Francis Higginson, although later researches have suggested for it another origin. Hutchinson gives a series of documents with this general heading : —

"Mr. Francis Higginson's Agreement with the Massachusetts Company, the Engagement of several of the principal Undertakers to transport themselves and Families, Mr. Higginson's Journal of his Voyage, his Considerations in favor of the design of colonizing, and his answer to the objections made against it."

This is certainly very explicit authority, and from a careful and accurate source, dating as far back as 1769. On the other hand, Mr. Savage and Mr. Young were positive (in 1846) that the manuscript which they possessed — the same used by Hutchinson — was in the handwriting of John Winthrop ; and

Mr. R. C. Winthrop has cited (1869), from later investigation, additional reasons for thinking that part or the whole of the document probably came from his ancestor's pen. But neither Savage, Young, nor Winthrop meets fully the explicit assertion of Hutchinson, who was a careful writer, and stood almost a century nearer to the events described. We know from the testimony of John Higginson, in his Election Sermon of 1662, that his father, Francis Higginson, before leaving England, gave "some account of his grounds in a great assembly of many thousands at Leicester, Old England; he mentioned this one, the mercy of the Patent permitting People here to choose their own magistrates, and to admit unto freedom such as they should think meet, and that religion was the principal end of this plantation."¹ He being thus in the habit of explaining publicly the "grounds" of emigration, nothing is more likely than that he should have also reduced those grounds to writing, for the benefit of those not present; or that a statement so made should be copied and passed from hand to hand. Be this as it may, the "Considerations" are here given *pro tanto*.²

¹ John Higginson's Election Sermon (1662).

² Mather (1 65) gives the document, but without assigning any authorship. Hutchinson (p. 27) gives it, explicitly attributing it to Francis Higginson. Felt strongly sustains him ("Annals of Salem," 2d ed. i 69, and "Ecclesiastical History of New England," i. 104, *note*). For the opposite view, see Savage's Winthrop (i. 360), and his Genealogical Dictionary, *art.* "Higginson;" also Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts

Generall considerations for the plantation in New England, with an answer to several objections.

First. It will be a service to the church of great consequence, to carry the gospell into those parts of the world, and to raise a bulwarke against the kingdom of Antichrist which the Jesuits labour to rear up in all places of the world.

Secondly. All other churches of Europe are brought to desolation, and it may be justly feared that the like judgment is coming upon us, and who knows but that God hath provided this place to be a refuge for many whom he meanes to save out of the general destruction.

Thirdly. The land growes weary of her inhabitants, so that man, which is the most precious of all creatures, is here more vile and base than the earth they tread upon; so as children, neighbours, and friends, especially of the poore, are counted the greatest burdens which, if things were right, would be the highest earthly blessings.

Fourthly. Wee are growen to that excess and intemperance in all excess of riot as no meane estate almost will suffice to keep saile with his equals, and he that fayles in it must live in sorrow and contempt. Hence it comes to passe that all arts and trades are carried in that deceitful manner and unrighteous course as it is

(p. 278), and Winthrop's Winthrop (i. 317). The latter's text differs considerably from that of Hutchinson, which is here followed Compare Hutchinson Papers (Prince Society), i. 29.

almost impossible for a good upright man to maintayne his chardge and live comfortably in any of them.

Fifthly. The schools of learning and religion are so corrupted, as (besides the unsupportable chardge of this education) most children (even the best, wittiest, and of fayerest hopes) are perverted, corrupted and utterly over powered by the multitude of evill examples and licentious governors of those seminaries.

Sixthly. The whole earth is the Lord's garden and hee hath given it to the sons of Adam to be tilled and improved by them, why then should we stand starving here for places of habitation (many men spending as much labour and cost to recover or keepe sometymes an acre or two of lands, as would procure him many hundreds of acres, as good or better in another place) and in the meane tyme suffer whole countreyes as profitable for the use of man, to lye waste without any improvement?

Seventhly. What can bee a better worke and more noble and worthy a christian, than to helpe to raise and support a particular church while it is in its infancy, and to join our forces with such a company of faithfull people, as by a tymely assistance may grow stronger and prosper, and for want of it may be put to great hazzard if not wholly ruined?

Eighthly. If any such as are known to bee godly and live in wealth and prosperity here, shall forsake all this to joyn themselves with this church, and runne in hazard with them of hard and meane condition, it will be an example of great use both for the removing of

scandall and sinister and worldly respects, to give more lyfe to the faith of God's people in their prayers for the plantation and also to encourage others to joyne the more willingly in it.

Objections.

Object. I. It will be a great wrong to our owne church and country to take away the best people ; and we still lay it more open to the judgments feared.

Ans. 1st, The number will be nothing in respect of those that are left. 2dly, Many that live to no use here, more than for their own private families may bee employed to a more common good in another place. 3dly, Such as are of good use here may yett be so employed as the church shall receive no losse. And since Christ's coming the church is to be conceived as universall without distinction of cuntryes, so as he that doth good in any one place serves the church in all places, in regard of the unitye. 4thly, It is the revealed will of God that the gospell should be preached to all nations, and though we know not whether the Indians will receive it or not, yet it is a good worke to observe God's will in offering it to them ; for God shall have glory by it though they refuse it.

Obj. 2. We have feared a judgment a long tyme, but yet we are safe ; therefore it were better to stay till it come, and either we may flie then, or if we be overtaken in it wee may well be content to suffer with such a church as ours is.

Ans. It is likely that this consideration made the

churches beyond the seas as the Palatinate and Rochel, &c. to sit still at home, and not look out for shelter while they might have found it, but the wofull spectacle of their ruine may teach us more wisdom to avoid the plague while it is foreseene, and not to tarry as they did till it overtooke them. If they were now at their former liberty wee may be sure they would take other courses for their safety. And though most of them had miscarried in their escape, yet it had not been halfe so miserable to themselves, or scandalous to religion, as this desperate backsliding and abjuring the truth, which many of the antient professors among them, and the whole posterity that remayne are plunged into.

Obj. 3. Wee have here a fruitfull land with peace and plenty of all things.

Ans. Wee are like to have as good conditions there in tyme ; but yet we must leave all this abundance, if it bee not taken from us. When we are in our graves, it will be all one whether we have lived in plenty or in penury, whether we have dyed in a bed of downe or lockes of straw. Onely this the advantage of the meane condition, that it is a more freedom to dye. And the lesse comfort any have in the things of this world, the more liberty they have to lay up treasure in heaven.

Obj. 4. We may perish by the way or when wee come there, having hunger or the sword, &c. and how uncomfortable will it be to see our wives and children and friends come to such miserie by our occasion?

Ans. Such objections savour too much of the flesh. Who can secure himself or his from the like calamities here? If this course be warrantable, we may trust God's providence for these things. Either he will keep those evils from us, or will dispose them for our good and enable us to bear them.

Obj. 5. But what warrant have we to take that land, which is and hath been of long tyme possessed of others the sons of Adam?

Ans. That which is common to all is proper to none. This savage people ruleth over many lands without title or property; for they inclose no ground, neither have they cattell to maintayne it, but remove their dwellings as they have occasion, or as they can prevail against their neighbours. And why may not christians have liberty to go and dwell amongst them in their waste lands and woods (leaving them such places as they have manured for their corne) as lawfully as Abraham did among the Sodomites? For God hath given to the sons of men a two-fould right to the earth; there is a naturall right and a civil right. The first right was naturall when men held the earth in common, every man sowing and seeding where he pleased. Then, as men and cattell increased, they appropriated some parcells of ground by enclosing and peculiar manurance, and this in tyme got them a civil right. Such was the right which Ephron the Hittite had to the field of Machpelah, wherein Abraham could not bury a dead corpse without leave, though for the out parts of the countrey which lay common, he dwelt

upon them and tooke the fruit of them at his pleasure. This appears also in Jacob and his sons, who fedd their flocks as bouldly in the Canaanites land, for he is said to be Lord of the country ; and at Dotham and all other places men accounted nothing their owne, but that which they had appropriated by their own industry, as appears plainly by Abimelech's servants, who in their own countrey did often contend with Isaac's servants about wells which they had digged ; but never about the lands which they occupied. So likewise betweene Jacob and Laban ; he would not take a kidd of Laban's without speciall contract ; but he makes no bargaine with him for the land where he fedd. And it is probable that if the countrey had not been as free for Jacob as for Laban, that covetuous wretch would have made his advantage of him, and have upbraided Jacob with it as he did with the rest.

2dly, There is more than enough for them and us.

3dly, God hath consumed the natives with a miraculous plague, whereby the greater part of the country is left voide of inhabitants.

4thly, We shall come in with good leave of the natives.

Obj. 6. We should send our young ones and such as can best be spared, and not of the best of our ministers and magistrates.

Ans. It is a great worke, and requires more skilfull artificers to lay the foundation of a new building, than to uphold and repayre one that is already built. If great things be attempted by weake instruments, the effects will be answerable.

Obj. 7. We see that those plantations that have been formerly made succeeded ill.

Ans. The fruit of any public designe is not to be discerned by the imediate success: it may appear in tyme, that they were all to good use. 2dly, There were great fundamental errours in others, which are like to be avoided in this: for 1st there mayne end and purpose was carnall and not religious. 2d, They aymed chiefly at profitt and not at the propagation of religion. 3d, They used too unfitt instruments, a multitude of rude and ungoverned persons, the very scums of the land. 4th, They did not stablish a right fourme of government.¹

¹ Hutchinson's Collections, pp. 27-31 (Prince Society's reprint, i 29-34).

VI.

A SEA-VOYAGE IN THE SEVENTEENTH
CENTURY.

Those that love their owne chumney corner and dare not go farre beyond their own townes end shall never have the honour to see these wonderfull workes of Almighty God. — FRANCIS HIGGINSON *Journal*.

LET us now proceed to the journal itself. A manuscript containing it — this not being the original, but a very early copy — is in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It formerly belonged to Gov. Thomas Hutchinson, and was used by him when entire, although it is now incomplete. He reprinted it in his "Collection of Original Papers relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. Boston, New England: Printed by Thomas and John Fleet, 1769" (p. 32); and it has been again reprinted, with the spelling modernized, in Young's "Chronicles of Massachusetts" (p. 213). It claims to have been "written from New England, July 24, 1629," and was probably sent home on the return of the "Talbot" and "Lion's Whelp," which are mentioned, in the proceedings of the Corporation (Nov. 19, 1629), as having then arrived.¹ It has never, so far as I am aware, been reprinted in England.

¹ Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 90

A true relation of the last voyage to New England, declaring all circumstances with the manner of the passage we had by sea, and what manner of country and inhabitants we found when we came to land; and what is the present state and condition of the English people that are there already.

Faithfully recorded according to the very truth, for the satisfaction of very many of my loving friends, who have earnestly requested to be truly notified in these things.

Written from New England, July 24, 1629.

Any curious criticke that lookes for exactnes of phrases, or expert seaman that regards propriety of sea-termes, may be disappointed.

A true relation of the last voyage to New England, made the last summer, begun the 25th of April, being Saturday, Anno Domini, 1629.

“The Company of New England, consisting of many worthy gentlemen in the cittie of London, Dorchester, and other places, ayming at the glory of God, the propagation of the gospell of Christ, the conversion of the Indians, and the enlargement of the King’s Majesty’s dominions in America, and being authorised by his royal letters patents for that end, at their very great costs and charges, furnished 5 ships to go to New England, for the further settling of the English plantation that they had already begun there.

“The names of the 5 shippes were as followeth.

“The first is called the Talbot, a good and strong ship of 300 tunnes, and 19 pieces of ordinance, and served with 30 mariners. This ship carried about an

100 planters, 6 goates, 5 great pieces of ordinance, with meale, oatemeale, pease, and all manner of munition and provision for the plantation for a twelve monthe.

“The second the George, another strong ship also, about 300 tunnes, 20 pieces of ordinance, served with about 30 mariners; her chiefe carriage were cattell, 12 mares, 30 kyne, and some goates: Also there gad in her 52 planters and other provision.

“The third is called the Lyon’s Whelpe, a neat and nimble ship of 120 tunnes, 8 pieces of ordinance, carrying in her many mariners and about 40 planters, specially from Dorcester and other places thereabouts, with provision, and 4 goats.

“The 4th is called the Four Sisters, as I heare, of about 300 tunns, which sayme ship carried many cattell, with passengers and provision.

“The 5th is called the Mayflower, carrying passengers and provision.

“Now amongst these 5 ships, the George having the special and urgent cause of hastening her passage, set sayle before the rest about the middle of April. And the Four Sisters and the Mayflower, being not thoroughly furnished, intended, as we heard, to set forth about 3 week after us: But we that were in the Talbot and the Lyon’s Whelpe, being ready for our voyage, by the good hand of God’s providence, hoysted our sayle from Graves-end on Saturday the 25th of April, about 7 o’clock in the morning. Having but a faynt wynd we could not go farre that day, but at

night we arrived against Leigh, which is 12 miles from Graves-end, and there we rested that night, and kept Sabbath the next day.

"On Monday (the 27th) we sat forward and came to the flatts, a passage somewhat difficult by reason of the narrownes of the channel and shallownes of the water ; and going over this we were in some daunger : for the ship being heavy laden and drawing deepe water was sensibly felt of us all to strike 3 or 4 tymes on the ground : but the wind blowing somewhat strong we were carried swiftly on, and at last by God's blessing came safe to ancre at Gorin roade.

"Tuesday (28th) we went a little further, and ancred over against Margret downe, staying for a wind for the Downes.

"Wednesday (29th) we came safely through with much turning and tacking thorow the gullies into the Downes, and stayed that night.

"Thursday (30th), Fryday and Saturday (May 1st & 2d) the wind blew hard from south west and caused our ship to daunce, and divers of our passengers and my wiffe specially were sea sicke. Here the King's ship called the Assurance, pressed 2 of our mariners. Here we saw many porpuses playing in the sea, which they say is a signe of fowle weather.

"(May 3). Sabbath day, a windye day and could : We kept Sabbath staying still at the Downes.

"Monday (4th) God sent us a fayre gale of winde, North N. East, whereby we came merrily from the Downes, and passing Dover we saw 6 or 7 saile of

Dunkirkers¹ wafting after us ; but it seemed they saw our company was too strong for them, for then we had with us 3 or 4 ships that went for the Streights. So they returned backe from pursuing us any longer. But sayling with a good wind we went speedily, and at night came neere the Isle of Wight, but being darke, we durst not put into the channell, but put backe for sea-roome 4 houres, and then other 4 houres sayled backe agayne the same way.

“Tuesday (5th) early in the morning we entered the channell, the wind being weake and calme, and passed by Portsmouth very slowly ; but in the afternoone the wind quickened, and we were forced to ancre a little on this side Cowcastle, but the wind growing more favourable, we weighed and came to ancre againe, right against Cowcastle, thinking to stay that night, the wind being very calme. Here I and my wiffe and my daughter Mary, and 2 maids, and some others with us, obtained of the master of the ship to go ashoare to refresh us, and to wash our linnens, and so we lay at Cowes that night. But the wind turning when we were absent, they hoysted sayle and left us there, and ancred 8 miles further, over against Yarmouth, about 8 of the clocke at night.

“Wednesday (6th) betyme in the morning the shalope was sent from the ship to fetch us to Yarmouth ; but the water proved rough and our women desired to

¹ Dunkirk was at this time a part of the Spanish Netherlands, and there was war between England and Spain.—
YOUNG.

be sett on shoare 3 miles short of Yarmouth, and so went on foote by land and lodged in Yarmouth that night.

“On Thursday and Fryday (7th & 8th) there master Becher, allowed by the Company, gave me 4os. to make our provision of what things we would for the voyage.

“Saturday (9th) we went to board againe ; and this day we had 2 other men pressed to serve the King’s ship ; but we got one agayne by intreaty.

“The Sabbath next day (10th) we kept the ship, where I preached in the morning ; and in the afternoone was intreated to preach at Yarmouth, where Mr. Meare and Captain Borley entertained us very kyndly, and earnestly desired to be satisfied of our safe arrivall in New England, and of the state of the country.

“Monday morning (11th) blew a fayre wind from E. S. E. and the Lion’s Whelpe having taken in all her provision for passengers, about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone we hoysed sayle for the Needles, and by God’s guidance safely passed that narrow passage a little after 4 a clocke in the afternoone. And being entred into the sea, from the top of the mast, we discerned 4 sayle of ships lying southward from us. But night coming on we tooke in our long boate and shalope. And the next day (12th) we had a fayre gale of easterly wind that brought us towards night as farre as the Lizzard.

“Wednesday (13th) the wind still houlding easterly,

we came as farre as the land's end, in the utmost part of Cornwall, and so left our deare native soyle of England behind us ; and sayling about 10 leagues further we passed the Iles of Scillie and launched the same day a great way into the maine ocean. And now my wiffe and other passengers began to feelee the tossing waves of the westerne sea, and so were very sea sicke.

“And this is to be noted, that all this while our passage hath beene upon the coast of England, so ought truly to be accounted the first day of our parting with Ould England.

“Thursday (14th) the same easterly wind blew all day and night, and the next day (15th) so that some of the seamen thought we were come by this tyme 200 leagues from England, but toward night the wind was calme.

“Saturday (16th) we were becalmed all day. This day met us a little ship that came from Christopher islands.

“Sabbath (17th) being the first Lord's day we held at sea was very calme, especially in the morning, but we were disturbed in our morning service by the appearance of a Biscayners ship, a man of warre, that made towards us, and manned out his boate to view us : But finding us too strong for him he durst not venture to assault us, but made off.

“This day my two children Samuel and Mary began to be sicke of the small-pocks and purples together, which was brought into the ship by one Mr.

Browne who was sicke of the same at Graves-end, whom it pleased God to make the first occasion of bringing that contagious sicknes among us, wherewith many were after afflicted.

“Monday (18th) calme still, the wind being N. W. blowing a little towards evening, but contrary to our course.

“Tuesday (19th) wind S. W. as little helpfull as the former and blowing very weake. This day the master of the ship, myselfe and another went aboard the Lion's Whelpe, where Mr. Gibbs made us welcome with bountifull entertainment. And this day towards night my daughter grew sicker, and many blew spots were seene upon her breast, which affrighted us. At the first we thought they had beene the plague tokens; but we found afterwards that it was only an high measure of the infection of the pocks, which were strucke agayne into the child, and so it was God's will the child dyed about 5 of the clocke at night, being the first in our ship that was buried in the bowells of the great Atlantic sea; which, as it was a grieve to us her parents and a terroure to all the rest, as being the beginning of a contagious disease and mortality, so in the same judgment it pleased God to remember mercy in the child, in forcing it from a world of misery wherein otherwise she had lived all her daies. For being about 4 years ould, a yeare since, we know not by what meanes, swayed in the backe, so that it was broken and grew crooked, and the joynts of her hipps were loosed and her knees

went crooked, pittiful to see. Since which she hath had a most lamentable payne in her belly, and would oft tymes cry out in the day and in her sleep also, my belly! which declared her extraordinary distemper. So that in respect of her we had cause to take her death as a blessing from the Lord to shorten her miserie.

“Wednesday (20th) a wet morning, the wind was W. S. W. and in the afternoone N. W. by W. both being contrary to our course, which was to saile W. by S. Thus it pleased God to lay his hand upon us by sicknes and death and contrary winds; and stirred up some of us to make the motion of humbling ourselves under the hand of God by keeping a solemn day of fasting and prayer unto God, to beseech him to remove the continuance and further increase of these evils from us, which was willingly condescended unto as a duty very fitting and needful for our present state and condition.

“Thursday (21st) there being two ministers in the ship, Mr. Smith and myselfe, we endeavoured, together with others, to consecrate the day as a solemn fasting and humiliation to Almighty God as a furtherance of our present worke. And it pleased God the ship was becalmed all day, so that we were freed from any encumbrance: And as sonne as we had done prayers, see and behold the goodnes of God, about 7 a clock at night the wind turned to N. E. and we had a fayre gale that night, as a manifest evidence of the Lord’s hearing our prayers. I heard some of the

mariners say, they thought this was the first sea-fast that ever was kept, and that they never heard of the like perfourmed at sea before.

"Fryday (22d) the wind fayre, and east northerly, and for our purpose for New England. It did blow strongly and carried us on amayne with tossing waves, which did affright them that were not wonted to such sights.

"Saturday (23d) the same wind blowing but more gently. Now we were comforted with the hope of my sonne Samuel's recovery of the small pockes.

"(24th) The 2d Lord's day, an orderly wind and prosperous.

"On Monday (25th) a fayre furme gale, the wind S. S. W.

"Tuesday (26th) about 10 of the clocke in the morning, whilst we were at prayers a strong and sudden blast came from the north, that hoysed up the waves and tossed us more than ever before, and held us all the day till toward night, and then abated by little and little till it was calme. This day Mr. Goffe's great dog fell overboard and could not be recovered.

"Wednesday (27th) the wind still N. and calme in the morning, but about noone there arose a So. wind, which encreased more and more, so that it proved to us that are landmen a sore and terrible storme; for the wind blew mightily, the rayne fell vehemently, the sea roared and the waves tossed us horribly; besides it was fearefull darke and the mariners mait was afraid; and noyse on the other side with their running

here and there, lowd crying one to another to pull at this and that rope. The waves powred themselves over the ship that the 2 boats were filled with water, that they were fayne to strike holes in the midst of them to let the water out. Yea by the violence of the waves the long boates roape which held it was broken, and it had like to have been washed overboard, had not the mariners with much payne and daunger recovered the same. But this lasted not many houres ; after which it became a calmish day. All which while I lay close and warme in my cabine, but farre from having lift to sleepe with Jonah ; my thoughts were otherwise employed as the tyme and place required. Then I saw the truth of the scripture Psal. 107, from the 23d to the 32d. And my feare at this tyme was the lesse, when I remembred what a loving friend of myne, a minister accustomed to sea stormes, said to me that I might not be dismayed at such stormes, for they were ordinary at sea, and it seldome falls out that a ship perisheth at them if it have sea-roome. Which I the rather wryte that others as well as myselfe by the knowledge hereof may be encouraged and prepared against these ordinary sea-stormes.

“ Thursday (28th) So. wind ; calme at night.

“ On Fryday (29th) a boistrous wind blowing crosse, but was allayed towards night with a showre of rayne.

“ Saturday (30th) So. wind, but fayre and quett.

“ Sabbath day (31st) being the 3d Lord’s day, fayre and calme ; we saw abundance of grampus fishes, 2 or 3 yards long, and a body as bigg as an oxe.

"Monday (June 1) the wind westerly and calme : But besides our being stayed by contrary winds we begun to find the temperature of the ayre to alter and to become more solety and subject to unwholsome foggs. For coming now to the height of the Westerner Ilands, some of our men fell sicke of the scurvie and others of the small pockes, which more and more increased : Yet thanks be to God none dyed of it but my owne child mentioned. And therefore, according to our great need, we appointed another fast for the next day.

"Tuesday (2d) we solemnly celebrate another fast. The Lord that day heard us before we prayed and gave us an answer before we called ; for early in the morning the wind turned full east, being as fitt a wind as could blow. . And sitting at my study on the ship's poope I saw many bonny fishes and porpuses pursuing one another, and leaping some of them a yard above the water. Also as we were at prayers under the hatch, some that were above saw a whale puffing up water not farre from the ship. Now my wiffe was pretty well recovered of her sea-sicknesse.

"Wednesday (3d) a fayre day and fine gale of full East wind. This day myselfe and others saw a large round fish sayling by the ship's side about a yard in length and roundeth every way. The mariners call it a sunne fish ; it spreadeth out the finnes like beames on every side 4 or 5.

"Thursday and Fryday (4th & 5th) the wind full E. we were carried with admiration on our journey. By

this we were more than half way to New England. This day a fish very straunge to me, they call it a carvell; which came by the ship side, wafting along the top of the water. It appeared at the first like a bubble above the water as bigg as a man's fist, but the fishe itselfe is about the bignes of a man's thum, so that the fish itselfe and the bubble resemble a ship with sayles, which therefore is called a carvell.

"Saturday (6th) wind direct East still.

"(7th) The 4th Sabbath we kept at sea. The wind easterly till noone, and then it came full S. E. a strong gale that night and the next day (8th) till night. Tuesday (9th) the same wind held till 9 a clock in the morning; and then a great showre which lasted till about 7 at night, and then it was a very calme. There we sounded with a dipsea lyne above 100 fadome and found no bottom. This day we saw a fish called a turkle, a great and large shell fish, swimming above the water neere the ship.

"Wednesday (10th) wind northerly, a fine gale but calmish in the afternoone.

"Thursday (11th) the wind at N. an easye gale and fayre morning. We saw a mountayne of ice shining as white as snow like to a great rocke or clift on shoare, it stood still and therefore we thought it to be on ground and to reach the bottom of the sea. For though there came a mighty streame from the north yet it moved not, which made us sound, and we found a banke of 40 fathom deepe whereupon we judged it to rest: and the height above was as much. We saw

also 6 or 7 pieces of ice, floating on the sea, which was broken off from the former mountayne. We also saw great store of water fowle swimming by the shipp within musket shott, of a pyde colour and about the bigness of a wild duck, about 40 in a company. The mariners call them hag birds. Towards night came a fogge, that the Lion's Whelp was lost till morning. And now we saw many bony fish porpuses and grampuses every day more and more.

"Fryday (12th) Foggie and calmish, the wind northerly in the morning, but about noon it came S. E. a dainty loome gale which carried us 6 leagues a watch.

"Saturday (13th) the same wind till night, and we saw great store of porpuses and grampuses.

"The 5th sabbath, (14th) the same wind, towards noon it began to be foggie, and then it rained till night, we went 4 or 5 leagues a watch.

"Monday (15th) a fayre day but foggie, the same wind blowing but with fresh gales carried us 7 leagues a watch. In the afternoon it blew harder, so the sea was rough, and we lost the sight of the Lion's Whelp: it being foggie we drummed for them, and they shot of a great piece of ordinance, but we heard not one another.

"Tuesday (16th) wind S. by E. foggie till about 10 a clocke. While we were at prayers it cleared up about an houre, and then we saw the Lion's Whelp, distant about 2 leagues southward, we presently tact about to meet her, and she did the same to meet us, but

before we could get together a thick fogge came, that we were long in finding each other. This day we sounded divers tymes, and found ourselves on another banke, at first 40 fathom, after 36, after 33, after 24. We thought it to have been the bank over against Cape Sable, but we were deceived, for we knew not certainly where we were because of the fogge. After 3 or 4 hours company we lost the Lion's Whelpe agayne, and beate the drum and shot of a great piece of ordinance, and yet heard not of them. But perceiving the bank to grow still shallower we found it 27 and 24 fathoms. Therefore, being a fogg, and fearing we were too neare land we tackt about for sea-roume for 2 or 3 watches, and steered southeast.

"Wednesday (17th) very foggie still, and wind S. by W. and sounding found no bottome that we could reach.

"Thursday (18th) wind full W. and contrary to us. This day a notorious wicked fellow that was given to swering and boasting of his former wickednes, bragged that he had got a wench with child before he came this voyage, and mocked at our daies of fast, railing and jesting against puritans, this fellow fell sicke of the pockes and dyed. We sounded and found 38 fathom, and stayed, for a little while, to take some cod fish, and feasted ourselves merrily.

"Fryday (19th) wind West still, a very fayre clear day. About 4 a clock in the afternoone some went up to the top of the mast, and affirmed to our great comfort they saw land to the northeastward.

"Saturday (20th) wind S. W. a fayre gale. We sounded and found 40, 30, 22, and a little after no ground.

"Sabbath (21st) being the 6th Lord's day; wind northerly but fayre and calm.

"Monday (22d) wind easterly, a fayre gale. This day we saw a great deal of froth not farre from us. we feared it might be some breach of water against some rockes, therefore the master of our ship hoisted out the shallop and went with some of the men to see what it was; but found it onely to be a froath carried by the streame.

"Tuesday (23d) the wind N. E. a fayre gale.

"Wednesday (24th) wind N. E. a fayre day and cleare; about 9 a clocke in the morning we espied a shipp about 4 leagues behind us; which proved to be the Lion's Whelpe, which had been a weeke seperated from us, we stoped for her company. This day a child of good man Clarke, which had a consumption before it came to shipp, died. This day we had all a cleare and comfortable sight of America, and of the Cape Sable that was over against us 7 or 8 leagues northward. Here we saw yellow gilliflowers on the sea.

"Thursday (25th) wind still N. E. a full and fresh gale. In the afternoon we had a cleare sight of many islands and hills by the sea shoare. Now we saw abundance of mackrill, a great store of great whales puffing up water as they goe, some of them came neere our shipp: this creature did astonish us that

saw them not before ; their back appeared like a little island. At 5 a clocke at night the wind turned S. E. a fayre gale. This day we caught mackrill.

“ Fryday (26th) a foggie morning, but after cleare and wind calme. We saw many scools of mackrill, infinite multitudes on every side our ship. The sea was abundantly stored with rockweed and yellow flowers like gilly-flowers. By noon we were within 3 leagues of Capan, and as we sayled along the coasts we saw every hill and dale and every island full of gay woods and high trees. The nearer we came to the shoare the more flowers in abundance, sometymes scattered abroad, sometymes joyned in sheets 9 or 10 yards long, which we supposed to be brought from the low meadowes by the tyde. Now what with fine woods and greene trees by land, and these yellow flowers paynting the sea, made us all desirous to see our new paradise of New England, whence we saw such forerunning signals of fertilitie afarre off. Coming neare the harbour towards night. we takt about for sea-roome.

“ Saturday (27th) a foggie morning ; but after 8 o'clocke in the morning very cleare, the wind being somewhat contrary at So. and by West, we tackt to and againe with getting little ; but with much adoe, about 4 o'clocke in the afternoone, having with much payne compassed the harbour, and being ready to enter the same, see how things may suddenly change ! there came a fearfull gust of wind and rayne and thunder and lightning, whereby we were borne with

no little terrour and trouble to our mariners, having very much adoe to loose downe the sayles when the fury of the storme held up. But God be praised it lasted but a while and soone abated agayne. And hereby the Lord shewed us what he could have done with us, if it had pleased him. But blessed be God, he soone removed this storme and it was a fayre and sweet evening.

“We had a westerly wind which brought us between 5 and 6 o'clock to a fyne and sweet harbour,¹ 7 miles from the head point of Capan. This harbour 20 ships may easily ryde therein, where there was an island whither four of our men with a boate went, and brought backe agayne ripe strawberries and gooseberries, and sweet single roses.² Thus God was merciful to us in giving us a tast and smell of the sweet fruit as an earnest of his bountiful goodnes to welcome us at our first arrivall. This harbour was two leagues and something more from the harbour at Naimkecke, where our ships were to rest, and the plantation is already begun. But because the passage is difficult and night drew on, we put into Capan harbour.

“(28th) The Sabbath, being the first we kept in America, and the 7th Lord's day after we parted with England.

“Monday (29th) we came from Capan, to go to

¹ Gloucester harbor.

² This was Ten-Pound Island, where wild roses and strawberries still grow. Young assumes that the roses were sweet-brier; but the common wild roses of Cape Ann are fragrant.

Naimkecke, the wind northerly. I should have told you before that the planters spying our English colours the Governour sent a shalop with 2 men on Saturday to pilot us. These rested the Sabbath with us at Capan; and this day, by God's blessing and their directions, we passed the curious and difficult entrance into the large spacious harbour of Naimkecke. And as we passed along it was wonderful to behold so many islands replenished with thicke wood and high trees, and many fayre greene pastures. And being come into the harbour we saw the George to our great comfort then being come on Tuesday which was 7 daies before us. We rested that night with glad and thankful hearts that God had put an end to our long and tedious journey through the greatest sea in the world.

"The next morning (30th) the governour came aboard to our ship, and bade us kindly welcome, and invited me and my wiffe to come on shoare, and take our lodging in his house, which we did accordingly.

"Thus you have a faithful report collected from day to day of all the particulars that were worth noting in our passage.

"Now in our passage divers things are remarkable : —

"First, through God's blessing our passage was short and speedy, for whereas we had 1000 leagues, that is 3000 miles English, to saile from Ould to New

England, we performed the same in 6 weeks and 3 dayes.

“Secondly, our passage was comfortable and easie for the most part, having ordinarily fayre and moderate wind, and being freed for the most part from stormie and rough seas, saving one night only, which we that were not used thought to be more terrible than indeed it was, and this was Wednesday at night May 27th.

“Thirdly, our passage was also healthfull to our passengers, being freed from the great contagion of the scurvie and other maledictions, which in other passages to other places had taken away the lives of many. And yet we were in all reason in wonderful danger all the way, our ship being greatly crowded with passengers ; but through God’s great goodness we had none that died of the pockes but that wicked fellow that scorned at fasting and prayer. There were indeed 2 little children, one of my owne and another beside ; but I do not impute it meerely to the passage ; for they were both very sickly children, and not likely to have lived long, if they had not gone to sea. And take this for a rule, if children be healthfull when they come to sea, the younger they are the better they will endure the sea, and are not troubled with sea-sicknes as older people are, as we had experience in many children that went this voyage. My wiffe indeed, in tossing weather, was something ill by vomiting, but in calme weather she recovered agayne, and is now much better for the sea sicknes. And for my owne part,

whereas I have for divers yeares past been very sickly and ready to cast up whatsoever I have eaten, and was very sicke at London and Gravesend, yet from the tyme I came on shipboard to this day, I have been straungely healthfull. And now I can digest our ship diett very well, which I could not when I was at land. And indeed in this regard I have great cause to give God praise, that he hath made my coming to be a method to cure me of a wonderful weake stomacke and continual payne of melancholly wynd from the splene: Also divers children were sicke of the small pockes, but are safely recovered agayne, and 2 or 3 passengers towards the latter end of the voyage fell sicke of the scurvie, but coming to land recovered in a short tyme.

“Fourthly, our passage was both pleasureable and profitable. For we received instruction and delight in behoulding the wonders of the Lord in the deepe waters, and sometimes seeing the sea round us appearing with a terrible countenance, and as it were full of high hills and deepe vallyes; and sometimes it appeared as a most plain and even meadow. And ever and anon we saw divers kynds of fishes sporting in the great waters, great grampuses and huge whales going by companies and puffing up water-streames. Those that love their owne chimney corner, and dare not go farre beyond their owne townes end shall neever have the honour to see these wonderfull workes of Almighty God.

“Fifthly, we had a pious and christian-like passage;

for I suppose passengers shall seldom find a company of more religious, honest, and kynd seamen than we had. We constantly served God morning and evening by reading and expounding a chapter, singing, and prayer. And the Sabbath was solemnly kept by adding to the former, preaching twice and catechising. And in our great need we kept 2 solemne fasts, and found a gracious effect. Let all that love and use fasting and praying take notice that it is as prevaileable by sea as by land, wheresoever it is faithfully performed. Besides the ship master and his company used every night to sett their 8 and 12 a clocke watches with singing a psalme and prayer that was not read out of a booke. This I wryte not for boasting and flattery; but for the benefit of those that have a mynd to come to New England hereafter, that if they looke for and desyre to have as prosperous a voyage as we had, they may use the same meanes to attayne the same. So letting passe our passage by sea, we will now bring our discourse to land on the shoare of New England, and I shall by God's assistance endeavour to speake nothing but the naked truth, and both acquaint you with the commodities and discommodities of the country."

Much discussion has arisen as to the number of persons who actually arrived with Higginson. It will be remembered that up to this time, and long after, the Plymouth Colony was wholly distinct from the Massachusetts Colony, and was habitually spoken of

as "beyond Massachusetts" — or Mattachusetts or Masathulets, according as the difficult word chanced to be pronounced or spelled. John White's "Brief Relation" or "Planter's Plea," for instance (London, 1630), uses this expression. A few stragglers, afterward habitually mentioned as "The Old Planters," had settled round what were afterward Boston and Salem. But the first emigration under the authority of the Massachusetts Company was that under Endicott, who sailed in June, 1628. John White says: "Master Endecott was sent over governor, assisted with a few men, and arriving in safety there in September, 1628, and uniting his own men with those who were formerly planted in the country into one body, they made up in all not much above fifty or sixty persons. His prosperous journey and safe arrival of himself and all his company, and good report which he sent back of the country, gave such encouragement to the work, that more adventurers joining with the first undertakers, and all engaging themselves more deeply for the prosecution of the design, they sent over the next year about three hundred persons more."¹ This would seem plain enough.

Deputy-Governor Dudley also wrote to the Countess of Lincoln, daughter of Lord Say and Sele, in 1631, speaking of the same emigration: "We sent divers ships over with about three hundred people, and some cows, goats, and horses, many of which arrived safely."² Higginson's own claim is that they brought

¹ White, in Young's *Chronicles*, p. 13. ² Young, p. 310.

two hundred passengers and planters. But whether by "planters" he intended to include women and children, or even those who came as servants to other planters, has been seriously questioned. It is the opinion of Barry, Felt, Herbert Adams, and other authorities, that the number of servants sent to Salem was one hundred and eighty, and that Higginson's estimate did not include these.¹ The matter was very fully discussed in the Boston "Daily Advertiser" (Dec. 9, 1850, and Jan. 1, 1851); and the correspondence was reprinted in a pamphlet entitled "A Brief Passage at Arms in relation to a small point of History," and privately printed by Mr. S. F. Haven, then Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, who was one of the disputants, and who inclined strongly to the larger number as above. This seems to be the later tendency of opinion; but it is a matter that need not here be further considered.

¹ Barry's *History of Massachusetts*, i 165; Adams, in *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.* xix. 162.

VII.

A LETTER SENT HOME.

A Letter then from *New England*, and for a considerable time after, was Venerated as a Sacred Script, or as the Writing of some Holy Prophet. — SCOTTOW. *Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony*.

SCOTTOW, in his "Narrative," tells us, in regard to this period, that "a Letter then from New England, and for a considerable time after, was Venerated as a Sacred Script, or as the writing of some Holy Prophet ; 't was carried many Miles, where divers came to hear it." ¹ One of these cherished letters was probably the following from Francis Higginson, sent back, in Felt's opinion, about July 24, 1629, ² and giving his impressions of his new life after little more than a month on shore. Young assigns it to September, and thinks that this is the letter mentioned by Winthrop, in a letter to his son John (Oct. 9, 1629), ³ thus hardly allowing time enough for the long voyage. It is thus printed in Hutchinson's Collections : —

¹ "Narrative," etc., Mass. Hist. Coll. xxxiv. 293.

² Felt's Annals of Salem (2d ed.), i. 116.

³ Winthrop's History, i. 361 ; Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts, p. 264

Some brief collections out of a letter that Mr. Higginson sent to his friends at Leicester.

“There are certainly expected here the next spring the coming of 60 families out Dorcetter-shire, who have by letters signified so much to the Governour to desyre him to appoint them places of habitations; they bringing their ministers with them. Also many families are expected out of Lincolnshire and a minister with them, and a great company of godly christians out of London. Such of you as come from Leister, I would counsell you to come quickly, and that for two reasons. 1st, if you linger too long, the passages of Jordan through the malice of Sathan may be stopped; that you can not come if you would.¹ 2dly, Those that come first speed best here, and have the priviledge of choosing choise places of habitations. Little children of 5 years ould may by setting come one month be able to get their owne maintenance abundantly. Oh what a good worke might you that are rich do for your poore brethren, to helpe them with your purses onely to convey them hither with their children and families, where they may live as well both for soule and body as any where in the world. Besides they will recompense the cost by helping to build houses and plant your ground for a tyme; which shall be difficult worke at the first, except

¹ This prediction was soon fulfilled, and great obstacles were put in the way of emigration. See Chalmers's *Annals*, i. 161; Savage's *Winthrop*, i. 109; Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 260, *note*.

you have the helpe of many hands. Mr. Johnson out of Lincolnshire and many others have helped our godly christians hither, to be employed in their worke for a while, and then to live of themselves. We have here about 40 goats that give milke, and as many milch kyne ; we have 6 or 7 mares and an horse, and do every day expect the coming of half a score mares more, and 30 kyne by two shippes that are to follow us.¹ They that come let them bring mares, kyne and sheepe as many as they can : Ireland is the best place to provide sheepe, and lyes in the way. Bring none that are in lambe, nor mares in foale ; for they are in more danger to perish at sea. Of all trades carpenters are more needful, therefore bring as many as you can. It were a wise course for those that are of abili-tyes to joyne together and buy a shipp for the voyage and other merchandize. For the governor² would that any man may employ his stocke in what merchandises he pleases, excepting onely beaver skins, which the company of merchants reserve to themselves and the managing of the publique stocke. If any be of the mynde to buy a shipp, my cousin Nowells³ counsell would be good. Also one Mr. [Beecher] a very godly man and the master of the ship we went in, and likewise one Mr. Graves,⁴ the master's maite, dwelling in

¹ The "Four Sisters" and the "Mayflower."

² Endicott.

³ Increase Nowell, afterward Secretary of the colony. Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts, p 262, *note*.

⁴ This Graves came annually to the colony for seven years, and was (probably) made a Rear Admiral by Cromwell, for

Wapping, may herein staund you in steed. The payment of the transportation of things is wondrous deare, as 5*l.* a man, and 10*l.* a horse, and commonly 3*l.* for every tunne of goodes : So that a little more then will pay for the passage will purchase the possession of a ship for all together.

“No man hath or can have a house built for him here unlesse he comes himselfe, or else sends seruants before to do it for him. It was an errour that I now perceiue both in myselfe, and others did conceive by not rightly understanding the merchaunts meaning. For we thought that all that put in their money into the common stocke should have a house built for them, besides such a portion of land ; but it was not so. They shall indeed have so much land allotted to them when they come to take possession of it and make use of it, but if they will have houses they must build them. Indeed we that are ministers, and all the rest that were entertained and sent over and maintained by the rest of the company, as their servants, for such a tyme in such employments, all such are to have houses built them of the companies charge and no others nor otherwise. They that put money into the stocke, as they do a good worke to helpe forwards so worthy a plantation, so all the gayne they are like to have, is according to the increase of the stocke at 3 yeares end, by the trade of beaver, besides the lands which they shall enjoy when they will.

“All that come must have victualls with them for capturing a Dutch privateer. See Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 262, *note*.

a twelve month, I meane they must have meale, oat-meale and such like sustenance of food, till they can gett increase of corne by their owne labour. For, otherwise, so many may come without provision at the first, as that our small beginnings may not be sufficient to maintayne them.

“Before you come be carefull to be strongly instructed what things are fittest to bring with you for your more comfortable passage at sea, as also for your husbandrey occasions when you come to the land. For when you are once parted with England you shall meete neither with taverns nor alehouse, nor butchers, nor grocers, nor apothecaries shops to helpe what things you need, in the midst of the great ocean, nor when you are come to land, here are yet neither markets nor fayres to buy what you want. Therefore be sure to furnish yourselves with things fitting to be had before you come; as meale for bread, malt for drinke, woollen and linnen cloath, and leather for shoes, and all manner of carpenters tooles, and a good deale of iron and steele to make nailes, and lockes for houses and furniture for ploughs and carts, and glasse for windowes, and many other things which were better for you to think of them there than to want them here.

“Whilst I was writing this letter my wiffe brought me word that the fishers had caught 1600 basse at one draught, which if they were in England were worth many a pound.”¹

¹ Reprinted from Hutchinson's Collections, p. 47 (Prince reprint, i. 52). It has also been printed (with spelling modernized) in Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts, p. 260.

VIII.

THE FIRST AMERICAN ORDINATION.

Consulted with them about settling a reformed congregation. —
MORTON: *New England's Memorial*.

THERE are few things more curious in religious history than the promptness with which the Massachusetts Bay Puritans, once upon the soil of a new continent, threw off the whole English system of church organization. "Not a fragment of hierarchical order found a place in the fabric of the New England churches,"¹ and Francis Higginson, who claimed that he and his friends did not "go to New England as separatists from the Church of England," at once became practically a separatist himself, without a trace of intermediate hesitation. Dr. Palfrey thinks that the mere experience of a six weeks' voyage may have wholly changed the mental attitude of those who endured its ordeal, and says truly that "as one party after another of earnest men came to confer together on New England soil, it is striking to observe to what an extent they had grown to be of one mind respecting the duty of rejecting the whole constitution of the English establishment."² Unquestionably

¹ Palfrey, i, 298.

² *Ibid*.

the visits of men from the Plymouth Colony, who were already separatists, had an influence on the action of the men at Massachusetts Bay ; and Governor Endicott, before the arrival of Higginson, writing to Governor Bradford, of Plymouth, to thank him for the ministrations of one of these visitors, had said, "I rejoice much that I am by him satisfied touching your judgments of the outward form of God's worship."¹ It is also to be noticed that a so-called separatist minister, Ralph Smith, was the companion of Higginson on his six weeks' voyage, his desire to come having been granted, as the Company said, "before we understood of his difference in judgment in some things from our ministers ;"² and it may be that his judgment had its influence on his companions during the long discussions of those weary days.

A very important factor in the case was undoubtedly the influence of Dr. Samuel Fuller, of the Plymouth Colony, who was summoned to Salem by Endicott before Higginson's arrival.³ He was brought there to attend upon the sick, but Dr. Fuller was also Deacon Fuller ; his visit strengthened the friendship between Endicott and Bradford, and unquestionably encouraged the fearless Salem governor to accept the position of independent Congregationalism. Probably the same result would have followed without his visit ; and the wisdom of John Robin-

¹ Palfrey, i 296.

² Bacon's *Genesis of the New England Churches*, p. 463.

³ Osgood's *Sketch of Salem*, p. 5.

son's prediction to the Plymouth men would have been vindicated: "There will be no difference between the conformable ministers and you, when they came to the practice of the ordinances out of the kingdom."¹ Yet so great was the facility with which these new converts accepted the new views, that we must conclude that they had simply ripened to a position where they would fall off from the parent church at a single touch from any one.

The nearest approach to a contemporary account of this first American ordination is to be found in the work called "*Morton's New England's Memorial*," — first published in 1669, — inasmuch as all the earlier part was professedly founded on the manuscripts of Governor Bradford of the Plymouth Colony, who gave the "right hand of fellowship" at the ordination. Its authenticity is further established, for this purpose, from the fact that the book had a preface signed by John Higginson and Thomas Thacher, the former having been almost old enough, at the time of the ordination, to be admitted to the church, and having doubtless been intimately familiar with all that took place. Morton's account begins as follows: —

"Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton, in pursuance of the ends of their coming over into this wilderness, acquainted the Governour, Mr. Endicot, and the rest of the godly people whom they found inhabitants of the place, and the chief of the passengers that came

¹ Winslow in Young's Plymouth, p. 398.

over with them, with their professed intentions, and consulted with them about settling a reformed congregation; from whom they found a general and hearty concurrence, so that, after some conference together about this matter, they pitched upon the 6th of August for their entering into a solemn covenant with God, and one another, and also for the ordaining of their ministers; of which they gave notice to the church of Plimouth, that being the only church that was in the country before them. The people made choice of Mr. Skelton for their pastor, and Mr. Higginson for their teacher. And accordingly it was desired of Mr. Higginson to draw up a confession of faith and covenant in scripture language; which being done, was agreed upon.”¹

As this covenant was an important event in the religious history of Puritanism, it must by no means be omitted, especially as it was the written document of this eventful day, and not the spoken services, which went on record. Cotton Mather says: “Mr. Higginson drew up a *confession of faith* with a scriptural representation of the *covenant of grace* applied unto the present purpose, whereof thirty copies were taken for the *thirty persons* which were to begin the working of gathering the church.”² He gives the document itself, as follows: —

¹ Morton's New England's Memorial, ed. 1826, p. 145.

² Magnalia, i. 328, 329.

“We Covenant with our Lord, and one with another ; and we do bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself unto us in his blessed word of truth ; and do explicitly, in the name and fear of God, profess and protest to walk as followeth, through the power and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

“We avouch the Lord to be our God, and our selves to be his people, in the truth and simplicity of our spirits.

“We give our selves to the Lord Jesus Christ, and the word of his grace for the teaching, ruling and sanctifying of us in matters of worship and conversation, resolving to cleave unto him alone for life and glory, and to reject all contrary ways, canons, and constitutions of men in his worship.

“We promise to walk with our brethren, with all watchfulness and tenderness, avoiding jealousies and suspicions, back-bitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spirit against them ; but in all offences to follow the rule of our Lord Jesus, and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as he hath taught us.

“In public or private, we will willingly do nothing to the offense of the church ; but will be willing to take advice for our selves and ours, as occasion shall be presented.

“We will not in the congregation be forward either to show our own gifts and parts in speaking or scrupling, or there discover the weakness or failings of our brethren ; but attend an orderly call thereunto, know-

ing how much the Lord may be dishonoured, and his gospel, and the profession of it, slighted by our distempers and weaknesses in public.

"We bind our selves to study the advancement of the gospel in all truth and peace; both in regard of those that are within or without; no way slighting our sister churches, but using their counsel, as need shall be; not laying a stumbling-block before any, no, not the Indians whose good we desire to promote; and so to converse, as we may avoid the very appearance of evil.

"We do hereby promise to carry our selves in all lawful obedience to those that are over us, in Church or Commonwealth, knowing how well-pleasing it will be to the Lord, that they should have encouragement in their places, by our not grieving their spirits through our irregularities.

"We resolve to approve our selves to the Lord in our particular callings; shunning idleness as the bane of any state; nor will we deal hardly or oppressingly with any, wherein we are the Lord's stewards.

"Promising also unto our best ability to teach our children and servants the knowledge of God, and of His Will, that they may serve Him also; and all this not by any strength of our own, but by the Lord Christ: whose blood we desire may sprinkle this our Covenant made in His name."¹

¹ *Magnalia*, i. 66. It was also reprinted in the notes to Morton's Memorial (ed. 1826), p. 389; in Upham's Dedication Sermon, Nov. 12, 1826, Appendix I., and in the "Radical"

This covenant, whose whole tone is more comprehensive and liberal than any other similar document of the Puritan period within my knowledge, was superseded by one more "explicit," as was claimed, but less liberal, in 1636. A full account of this later covenant, showing what parts of the original document are included in it, has been prepared by a later minister of the First Church, the Rev. Charles Wentworth Upham.¹ But in a previous discourse on a similar occasion the same gentleman, himself an Unitarian, had expressed the opinion that the original covenant was comprehensive enough to cover everything which claimed the Christian name. He says of it: "Were not the principles of the Reformation exhibited and established in the covenant which was drawn up and adopted on this same 6th of August? A covenant to which all good Christians of every denomination, to the end of time, will be able to subscribe their names, — written in a style of touching simplicity which has seldom been equalled, and containing sentiments which are felt to be eloquent by every amiable and pious heart, and should form the bond to unite the whole church on earth, as they will unite the church of the Redeemed in Heaven. This covenant might well be adopted by all Congregational and Protestant churches, and it will forever constitute the

Magazine, Boston, iii. 484. Compare *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 1st series, vi. 283.

¹ Address at the Re-dedication of the First Church in Salem, Mass., Dec. 8, 1867.

glory, perpetuate the fame, and render precious the memory of Francis Higginson." ¹

Another Salem clergyman, writing earlier than Mr. Upham, and like him an Unitarian in opinion, had praised this early covenant with a praise that was rather more finely discriminated. Rev. Dr. Bentley, in his "Description of Salem," first published in 1800, said of this statement: "It may be esteemed, if not for its theology, for its simplicity. If it speak not the language of a sect, it breathes the spirit of Christian union. It never could be intended so much to display opinions, as by writter obligation to fasten men together. It is the inartificial range of thought forgetting the eyes of posterity, and without polemic or scholastic refinement. It was more an act of piety than of study. And it was recollected afterwards more from devotion and patriotism than religious prejudice. It did all the good which was intended, and from its peculiar character it could not live for the purposes of superstition." ² Happy indeed was the man who could deserve such an encomium as this; who could in that age of religious hostilities frame a religious agreement which could "fasten men together," and yet "could not live for the purposes of superstition." As Dr. Bentley afterward points out, it was found neces-

¹ Principles of the Reformation. A sermon preached at the dedication of the house of public worship of the First Congregational Society in Salem, Nov. 16, 1826, by Charles W. Upham, Associate Pastor, pp. 20, 21.

² Mass. Hist. Coll., vi. 243.

sary to revise and remodel it, at a later period, in order to obtain the necessary weapons for the Quaker persecution ; and thus "the abuse of this instrument consigned it to the sole care of the historian, who has preserved it for us as a precious relic of antiquity."

Thus much for the confession of faith and the covenant. It is still a question how far these were distinct from each other ; and the matter has formed the subject of a pamphlet by the Rev. Joseph B. Felt, with the title "Did the First Church of Salem originally have a Confession of Faith, distinct from their Covenant?"¹ For the later ceremonies of the ordination — which probably took place, Upham thinks, in the open air,² — we must still rely mainly on Morton, who gives but few particulars. He proceeds as follows : —

"And because they foresaw that this wilderness might be looked upon as a place of liberty, and therefore might in time be troubled with erroneous spirits, therefore they did put in one article into the confession of faith, on purpose, about the duty and power of the magistrate in matters of religion.³ Thirty copies of the aforesaid confession of faith and cove-

¹ Boston, 1856 (pp. 28).

² Upham's Address at the Re-dedication, etc., p 38.

³ This is one of many things in Puritan and Colonial history which contradict the theory of absolute subjection of civil to ecclesiastical power in early New England, as advocated by Brooks Adams in his lively work, "The Emancipation of Massachusetts."

nant being written out for the use of thirty persons who were to begin the work. When the 6th of August came, it was kept as a day of fasting and prayer, in which, after the sermons and prayers of the two ministers, in the end of the day, the aforesaid confession of faith and covenant being solemnly read, the fore-named persons did solemnly profess their consent thereunto; and then proceeded to the ordaining of Mr. Skelton pastor and Mr. Higginson teacher of the church there. Mr. Bradford the Governour of Plymouth, and some others with him, coming by sea, were hindered by cross winds, that they could not be there at the beginning of the day, but they came into the assembly afterward, and gave them *the right hand of fellowship*, wishing all prosperity, and a blessed succession of such good beginnings. After which, at several times, many others joined to the church in the same way.”¹

Had the impetuous and fearless Endicott, the day after this remarkable ordination, found it his duty to report upon it to some high English official, he might well have anticipated, for the purpose, the celebrated despatch sent by Charles Francis Adams to Earl Russell, in respect to the Confederate iron-clads, “It would be superfluous for me to point out to your Lordship that this is war.” If the Church of England stood for sacerdotalism — and no one can assert that at that period it did not — then Francis Higgin-

¹ New England's Memorial (ed 1826), pp. 145, 146.

son and his colleague separated themselves from it almost as absolutely and finally as if they had become followers of George Fox. They took indeed a more advanced attitude than their successors could maintain ; and "after the sacerdotal idea — that ordination is a sacrament, and, like baptism, must not be repeated — had begun to be entertained in New England, this double ordination became a stumbling-block to the churches." "The fact is," adds Leonard Bacon, from whom I am quoting, "that Higginson, Skelton, and all the first fathers of the New England churches, repudiated the sacerdotal idea entirely. They acknowledged no ordination at large. They admitted no such distinction as is now made between ordination and installation. If a man had been ordained by bishops in England, that was to them no reason why he should not be ordained again and again, with imposition of hands, so often as he was to be inducted into office in any church. They were right, unless sacerdotalism is the right theory of Christianity." ¹

A curious event which occurred during this ordination, and afterward secured to the colony one of its best military leaders, is described by several of the early writers. Scottow says of this unexpected convert that "he was no Debauchee, but of a Jocund Temper, and one of the Merry Mounts Society, who chose rather to Dance about a May-pole, first erected

¹ Bacon's *Genesis of the New England Churches*, p. 476, *note*.

to the honour of Strumpet Flora, than to hear a good Sermon," but that he "afterwards was the Chieftain and Flower of *New-England's* Militia, and an Eminent Instrument both in Church and Commonwealth."¹ And Cotton Mather describes the occasion more fully : —

"By the same token, that at this first *church gathering*, there fell out a remarkable matter which is now to be related. At a time when the church was to be gathered at *Salem*, there was about thirty miles to the southward of that place, a plantation of rude, lewd, mad, *English* people, who did propose to them selves a gainful trade with the *Indians*, but quickly came to nothing. A young gentleman belonging to that plantation being at *Salem*, on the day when the church was gathered, was at what he saw and heard, so deeply affected, that he stood up, expressing with much affection, his desire to be admitted into their number, which when they demurred about, he desired that they would at least admit him to make his profession before them. When they allowed *this*, he expressed himself so agreeably, and with so much *ingenuity* and *simplicity*, that they were extreamly pleased with it; and the ministers told him, that they highly approved of his *profession*, but inasmuch as he was a stranger to them, they could not receive him into their communion, until they had a further acquaintance with his conversation. However, such was the hold which

¹ Scottow in Mass. Hist. Coll., xxxiv. 289.

the grace of God now took of him, that he became an eminent christian, and a worthy and useful person, and not only afterwards joined unto the *church* of *Boston*, but also made a great figure in the *commonwealth* of *New-England*, as the *major-general* of all the forces in the colony; it was Major-general *Gibbons*." ¹

¹ *Magnalia*, i. 329.

IX.

"NEW ENGLAND'S PLANTATION."

Here reade the truth . . . without any frothy bombasting words, or any quaint, new-devised additions. — MICHAEL SPARKS, *Publisher*.

THE little book called "New England's Plantation" was a continuation of the "Journal of the Voyage," was sent later to England, and had, unlike the other, an immediate introduction to the public by way of print. It was probably sent home on the return of the "Four Sisters" and the "Mayflower,"¹ which reached England before Nov. 20, 1629.² An introduction addressed "To the reader," and signed "M. S.," — proceeding doubtless from Michael Sparks the publisher, — says that it was "not intended for the presse," but was sent to some friends in England. "Here reade the truth," he says, "without any frothy bombasting words, or any quaint, new-devised additions." The name of the author does not appear in the first edition, but was added later. It went through three editions, with but trifling modifications, in a single year. It has been several times reprinted, —

¹ This was the historic "Mayflower," which thus took part in founding both the Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay colonies.

² Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, pp. 107, 242.

in Force's "Tracts," vol. i. no. 12, in the "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society," vol. 1., and again in Young's "Chronicles of Massachusetts;" in the last case with the spelling modernized.¹ The Harvard College Library possesses two copies of the first London edition; the Boston Public Library has the second and third editions, and the Massachusetts Historical Society the third. The following is the title of the third edition, which is here followed:—

NEW-ENGLANDS PLANTATION.

Or, a short and true DESCRIPTION of the Commodities and Discommodities of that countrey. Written by Mr. HIGGESON, a Reuerend Diuine, now there resident. Whereunto is added a Letter, sent by Mr. GRAUES an Enginere out of New-England. The third edition, enlarged, London, 1630.

"Letting passe our voyage by sea, we will now begin our discourse on the shore of New-England. And because the life and wel-fare of every creature heere below, and the commodiousnesse of the countrey whereat such creatures live, doth by the most wise ordering of God's providence, depend next 'unto himselfe, upon the temperature and disposition of the foure elements, earth, water, aire, and fire (for as of the mixture of all these, all sublunary things are composed; so by the more or lesse enjoyment of the wholesome temper

¹ Some extracts from it have also been reprinted, with modernized spelling, in "The Young Folks' Book of American Explorers" (Boston).

and convenient use of these, consisteth the onely well-being both of man and beast in a more or lesse comfortable measure in all countreys under the heavens) therefore I will indeavour to shew you what New-England is by the consideration of each of these apart, and truly indeavour by God's helpe to report nothing but the naked truth, and that both to tell you of the discommodities as well as of the commodities, though as the idle proverbe is, *travellers may lye by authoritie*, and so may take too much sinfull libertie that way. Yet I may say of my selfe as once Nehemiah did in another case : *Shall such a man as I lye ?* No verily : it becometh not a preacher of truth to be a writer of falshod in any degree : And therefore I have beene carefull to report nothing of New-England but what I have partly seene with mine own eyes, and partly heard and enquired from the mouths of verie honest and religious persons, who, by living in the countrey a good space of time, have had experience and knowledge of the state thereof, and whose testimonies I doe beleeve as my selfe."

He begins by describing (1) the earth of New England : —

"First therefore of the earth of New-England and all the appertinances thereof: It is a land of divers and sundry sorts all about Masathulets Bay, and at Charles river is as fat blacke earth as can be seene any where : and in other places you have a clay soyle,

in other gravell, in other sandy, as it is all about our plantation at Salem, for so our towne is now named, *Psal.* 76. 2.

“The forme of the earth here in the superficies of it is neither too flat in the plainnesse, nor too high in hils, but partakes of both in a mediocritie, and fit for pasture, or for plow or meddow ground, as men please to employ it : though all the countrey bee as it were a thicke wood for the generall, yet in divers places there is much ground cleared by the Indians, and especially about the plantation : And I am told that about three miles from us a man may stand on a little hilly place and see divers thousands of acres of ground as good as need to be, and not a tree in the same. It is thought here is good clay to make bricke and tyles and earthen-pot as need to be. At this instant we are setting a brick-kill on worke to make bricke and tiles for the building of our houses. For stone, here is plentie of slates at the Isle of Slate in Masathulets bay, and lime-stone, free-stone, and smooth-stone, and iron-stone, and marble-stone also in such store, that we have great rocks of it, and a harbour hard by. Our plantation is from thence called Marble-harbour.

“Of minerals there hath yet beene but little triall made, yet we are not without great hope of being furnished in that soyle.

“The fertilitie of the soyle is to be admired at, as appeareth in the abundance of grasse that groweth everie where, both verie thicke, verie long, and verie high in divers places : But it groweth verie wildly with

a great stalke and a broad and ranker blade, because it never had been eaten with cattle, nor mowed with a sythe, and seldome trampled on by foot. It is scarce to bee beleevd how our kine and goates, horses and hogges, doe thrive and prosper here and like well of this countrey.

"In our plantation we have already a quart of milke for a penny: but the aboundant increase of corne proves this countrey to bee a wonderment. Thirtie, fortie, fiftie, sixtie are ordinarie here: Yea Joseph's encrease in Ægypt is out-stript here with us. Our planters hope to have more then a hundred fould this yere: And all this while I am within compasse; what will you say of two hundred fould and upwards? It is almost incredible what great gaine some of our English planters have had by our Indian corne. Credible persons have assured me, and the partie himselfe avouched the truth of it to me, that of the setting of 13 gallons of corne hee hath had encrease of it 52 hogsheads, every hogshead holding seven bushels of London measure, and every bushell was by him sold and trusted to the Indians for so much beaver as was worth 18 shillings; and so of this 13 gallons of corne, which was worth 6 shillings 8 pence, he made about 327 pounds of it in the yeere following, as by reckoning will appeare: where you may see how God blessed husbandry in this land. There is not such greate and plentifull eares of corne I suppose any where else to bee found but in this countrey: Because also of varietie of colours, as red, blew, and yellow, &c. and

of one corne there springeth four or five hundred. I have sent you many eares of divers colours that you might see the truth of it.

“Little children here by setting of corne may earne much more then their owne maintenance.

“They have tryed our English corne at New Plim-mouth plantation, so that all our several graines will grow here verie well, and have a fitting soyle for their nature.

“Our Governor hath store of greene pease growing in his garden, as good as ever I eat in England.

“This country aboundeth naturally with store of roots of great varietie and good to eat. Our turnips, parsnips, and carrots are here both bigger and sweeter then is ordinary to be found in England. Here are store of pumpions, cowcombers, and other things of that nature which I know not. Also divers excellent pot-herbs grow abundantly among the grasse, as straw-berrie leaves in all places of the countrey, and plenty of strawberries in their time, and pennyroyall, wintersaverie, sorrell, brookelime, liverwort, carvell, and watercresses, also leekes and onions are ordinarie, and divers physicall herbs. Here are also abundance of other sweet herbs delightful to the smell, whose names we know not, &c. and plentie of single damaske roses verie sweete ; and two kinds of herbes that bare two kinds of flowers very sweet, which they say, are as good to make cordage or cloath as any hempe or flaxe we have.

“Excellent vines are here up and downe in the

woods. Our Governour hath already planted a vineyard with great hope of encrease.

"Also, mulberries, plums, raspberries, corrance, chesnuts, filberds, walnuts, smalnuts, hurtleberries, and hawes of whitethorne neere as good as our cherries in England, they grow in plentie here.

"For wood there is no better in the world I thinke, here being foure sorts of oke differing both in the leafe, timber, and colour, all excellent good. There is also good ash, elme, willow, birch, beech, saxafras, juniper, cipres, cedar, spruce, pines, and firre that will yeeld abundance of turpentine, pitch, tarre, masts, and other materials for building both of ships and houses. Also here are store of sumacke trees, they are good for dying and tanning of leather, likewise such trees yeeld a precious gem called wine benjamin, that they say is excellent for perfumes. Also here be divers roots and berries wherewith the Indians dye excellent holding colours that no raine nor washing can alter. Also, wee have materials to make sope-ashes and salt-peter in abundance.

"For beasts there are some beares, and they say some *lyons* also; for they have been seen at Cape Anne. Also here are several sorts of deere, some whereof bring three or foure young ones at once, which is not ordinarie in England. Also wolves, foxes, beavers, otters, martins, great wild cats, and a great beast called a molke as bigge as an oxe. I have seen the skins of all these beasts since I came to this plantation excepting *lyons*. Also here are great store of

squerrels, some greater, and some smaller and lesser : there are some of the lesser sort, they tell me, that by a certaine skill will fly from tree to tree, though they stand farre distant."

The impression prevailed for a long time, in different parts of America, that lions were to be found on this continent ; thus, John Josselyn, in his "Account of Two Voyages to America" (1675), speaks by report of "a young lion (not long before) killed at Piscataway by an Indian."¹ But I take a certain satisfaction in the care shown by Francis Higginson to discriminate what rested on general rumour only from what he knew by the evidence of his senses : "I have seen the skins of all these beasts since I came to this plantation excepting lyons."

He next considers (2) the waters of New England :

Of the waters of New-England, with the things belonging to the same.

"New-England hath water enough, both salt and fresh, the greatest sea in the world, the Atlanticke sea, runs all along the coast thereof. There are abundance of Ilands along the shore, some full of wood and masts to feed swine ; and others cleere of wood, and fruitful to bear corne. Also wee have store of excellent harbours for ships, as at Cape Anne, and at Masathulets Bay, and at Salem, and at many other

¹ Stedman and Hutchinson's Library of American Literature, i. 428.

places. and they are the better because for strangers there is a verie difficult and dangerous passage into them, but unto such as are well acquainted with them, they are easie and safe enough. The aboundance of sea-fish are almost beyond beleieving, and sure I should scarce have beleieved it, except I had seene it with mine owne eyes. I saw great store of whales, and crampusse, and such aboundance of mackerils that it would astonish one to behold, likewise cod-fish in aboundance on the coast, and in their season are plentifully taken. There is a fish called a basse, a most sweet and wholesome fish as ever I did eate, it is altogether as good as our fresh sammon, and the season of their comming was begun when wee came first to New-England in June, and so continued about three months space. Of this fish our fishers take many hundreds together, which I have seen lying on the shore to my admiration; yea their nets ordinarily take more than they are able to hale to land, and for want of boats and men they are constrained to let a many goe after they have taken them, and yet sometimes they fill two boates at a time with them. And besides basse wee take plentie of scate and thornbacks, and abundance of lobsters and the least boy in the plantation may both catch and eat what he will of them. For my owne part I was soone cloyed with them, they were so great, and fat, and lussious. I have seene some myselfe that have weighed 16 pound, but others have had divers times so great lobsters as have weighed 25 pound, as they assure mee. Also heere is abundance

of herring, turbut, sturgeon, cuskes, hadocks, mullets, eeles, crabbes, muskles, and oysters. Besides there is probability that the countrey is of an excellent temper for the making of salt: For since our comming our fishermen have brought home very good salt which they found candied by the standing of the sea water and the heat of the sunne, upon a rocke by the sea shore: and in divers salt marishes that some have gone through, they have found some salt in some places crushing under their feete and cleaving to their shooes.

“And as for fresh water, the countrey is full of dainty springs, and some great rivers, and some lesser brookes; and at Masathulets Bay they digged wels and found water at three foot deepe in most places: And neere Salem they have as fine cleare water as we can desire, and we may digge wels and find water where we list.

“Thus wee see both land and sea abound with store of blessings for the comfortable sustenance of man’s life in New-England.”

It shows again the careful observation of this writer that Gould, in his Report on the Invertebrata of Massachusetts, gives the maximum size of lobsters on the Massachusetts shore as twenty-eight pounds. The striped bass, which he commemorates, has given its name to the Bass Rocks, not many miles north of the point where Higginson was writing, although the supply of the fish has now greatly diminished.

He next describes (3) the New England air: —

Of the aire of New-England with the temper and creatures in it.

"The temper of the aire of New-England is one speciall thing that commends this place. Experience doth manifest that there is hardly a more healthfull place to be found in the world that agreeth better with our English bodyes. Many that have beene weeke and sickly in old England, by comming hither have beene thoroughly healed and growne healthfull strong. For here is an extraordinarie cleere and dry aire that is of a most healing nature to all such as are of a cold, melancholy, flegmatick, rheumatick temper of body. None can more truly speake hereof by their owne experience then my selfe. My friends that knew me can well tell how verie sickly I have bin and continually in physick, being much troubled with a tormenting paine through an extraordinarie weaknessse of my stomacke, and abundance of melancholicke humors; but since I came hither on this voyage, I thanke God, I have had perfect health, and freed from paine and vomiting, having a stomacke to digest the hardest and coursest fare, who before could not eat finest meat; and whereas my stomache could onely digest and did require such drinke as was both strong and stale, now I can and doe often times drink New-England water verie well; and I that have not gone without a cap for many yeeres together, neither durst leave off the same, have now cast away my cap, and doe weare none at all in the day time: And

whereas beforetime I cloathed my selfe with double cloaths and thicke waistcoates to keepe me warme, even in the summer time, I doe now goe as thin clad as any, onely wearing a light stufte cassocke upon my shirt, and stufte breeches of one thicknesse without linings. Besides I have one of my children that was formerly most lamentably handled with sore breaking out of both his hands and feet of the king's-evill, but since he came hither hee is very well ever he was, and there is hope of perfect recoverie shortly even by the very wholesomnesse of the aire, altering, digesting and drying up the cold and crude humours of the body: And therefore I thinke it is a wise course for al cold complexions to come to take physick in New-England: for a sup of New-England's aire is better then a whole draught of Old England's ale.

"In the summer time, in the midst of July and August, it is a good deale hotter then in Old England: And in winter, January and February are much colder, as they say: But the spring and autumnne are of a middle temper.

"Fowles of the aire are plentiful here, and of all sorts as we have in England, as farre as I can learn, and a great many of strange fowles which we know not. Whilst I was writing these things, one of our men brought home an eagle which hee had killed in the wood: They say they are good meate. Also here are many kinds of excellent hawkes, both sea hawkes and land hawkes: And my self walking in the woods with another in company, sprung a patridge so bigge

that through the heaviness of his body could fly but a little way: They that have killed them, say they are as bigge as our hens. Here are likewise abundance of turkies often killed in the woods, farre greater then our English turkies, and exceeding fat. sweet, and fleshy, for here they have abundance of feeding all the yeere long, as strawberries, in summer al places are full of them, and all manner of berries and fruits. In the winter time I have seene flockes of pidgeons, and have eaten of them: They doe fly from tree to tree as other birds doe, which our pidgeons will not doe in England: They are of all colours as ours are, but their wings and tayles are far longer, and therefore it is likely they fly swifter to escape the terrible hawkes in this country. In winter time this country doth abound with wild geese, wild ducks, and other sea fowle, that a great part of winter the planters have eaten nothing but roast-meate of divers fowles which they have killed."

Wild turkeys and flocks of wild pigeons are no longer to be seen in Massachusetts, but they were once common. Francis Higginson's exultation in his own improved health was however premature.

He next proceeds to complete his narrative, with some ingenuity, by adding the fourth element, that of fire: —

"Thus you have heard of the earth, water and aire of New-England, now it may bee you expect something to bee said of the fire proportionable to the rest

of the elements. Indeede I thinke New-England may boast of this element more then of all the rest : For though it bee here somewhat cold in the winter, yet here we have plenty of fire to warme us, and that a great deal cheaper then they sel billets and faggots in London : Nay, all Europe is not able to afford to make so great fires as New-England. A poore servant here that is to possesse but 50 acres of land, may afford to give more wood for timber and fire as good as the world yeelds, then many noble men in England can afford to do. Here is good living for those that love good fires. And although New-England have no tallow to make candles of, yet by the abundance of the fish thereof, it can afford oil for lampes. Yea our pine-trees that are the most plentiful of all wood, doth allow us plenty of candles which are very usefull in a house : And they are such candles as the Indians commonly use, having no other, and they are nothing else but the wood of the pine tree cloven in two little slices, something thin, which are so full of the moysture of turpentine and pitch, that they burne as cleere as a torch. I have sent you some of them that you may see the experience of them."

Having thus sung the praises of the New World, he proceeds, in a spirit of candour, to admit some of its drawbacks : —

"Thus of New-England's commodities : now I will tell you of some discommodities that are here to be found.

"First, in the summer season for these three months, June, July, and August, we are troubled much with little flyes called musketoës, being the same they are troubled with in Lincolneshire and the Fens; and they are nothing but gnats, which except they bee smoked out of their houses are troublesome in the night season.

"Secondly, in the winter season for two months space, the earth is commonly covered with snow, which is accompanied with sharp biting frosts, something more sharpe then is in Old England, and therefore are forced to make great fires.

"Thirdly, the countrey being very full of woods, and wildernesses, doth also much abound with snakes and serpents of strange colours, and huge greatnesse: yea there are some serpents called rattle-snakes that have rattles in their tailes, that will not fly from a man as others will, but will flye upon him, and sting him so mortally, that hee will dye within a quarter of an houre after, except the partie stunged have about him some of the root of an herbe called snake-weed¹ to bite on, and then hee shall receive no harme: but yet seldom falles it out that any hurt is done by these. About three years since, an Indian was stung to death by one of them, but wee heard of none since that time.

"Fourthly and lastly, here wants as it were good company of honest christians to bring with them horses,

¹ Probably either *Sanicula Canadensis* or *Manlandica* (Gray), the two species of sanicle, or black snakeroot.

kine, and sheepe, to make use of this fruitfull land : great pittie it is to see so much good ground for corne and for grasse as any is under the heavens, to ly altogether unoccupied, when so many honest men and their families in Old England through the populousnesse thereof, do make very hard shift to live one by the other."

He next proceeds to speak of the aboriginal inhabitants, giving an account which, so far as it goes, is trustworthy. There is a touch of humour in his suggestion that the "love-lock" then worn in England may have been a fashion imported from America.

"Now, thus you know what New-England is, as also with the commodities and discommodities thereof: Now I will shew you a little of the inhabitants thereof, and their government.

"For their governors they have kings, which they call Saggamores, some greater, and some lesser, according to the number of their subjects.

"The greatest Saggamores about us can not make above three hundred men,¹ and other lesse Saggamores have not above fifteen subjects, and others neere about us but two.

"Their subjects above twelve years since² were swept away by a great and grievous plague that was amongst them, so that there are verie few left to inhabite the country.

¹ That is, fighting men.

² 1617.

"The Indians are not able to make use of the one fourth part of the land, neither have they any settled places, as townes to dwell in, nor any ground as they challenge for their own possession, but change their habitation from place to place.

"For their statures, they are a tall and strong limmed people, their colours are tawney, they goe naked, save onely they are in part covered with beasts skins on one of their shoulders, and weare something before their privities; their haire is generally blacke, and cut before, like our gentelewomen, and one locke longer than the rest, much like to our gentlemen, which fashion I thinke came from hence into England.

"For their weapons, they have bowes and arrowes, some of them headed with bone, and some with brasse: I have sent you some of them for an example.

"The men for the most part live idely, they do nothing but hunt and fish: Their wives set their corne and doe all their other worke. They have little household stuffe, as a kettle, and some other vessels like trayes, spoones, dishes, and baskets.

"Their houses are verie little and homely, being made with small poles pricked into the ground, and so bended and fastned at the tops, and on the sides they are matted with boughs and covered on the roof with sedge and old mats, and for their beds that they take their rest on, they have a mat.

"They doe generally professe to like well of our coming and planting here; partly because there is abundance of ground that they cannot possesse nor

make use of, and partly because our being here will be a meanes both of relief to them when they want, and also a defence from their enemies, wherewith (I say) before this plantation began, they were often indangered.

“For their religion they do worship two Gods, a good God and an evil God: The good God they call Tantum, and their evil God whom they fear will doe them hurt, they call Squantum.

“For their dealing with us, we neither fear them nor trust them, for fourtie of our musketeeres will drive five hundred of them out of the field. We use them kindly; they will come into our houses sometimes by half a dozen or half a score at a time when we are at victuals, but will ask or take nothing but what we give them.

“We purpose to learn their language as soon as we can, which will be a means to do them good.”

Francis Higginson did not live to carry out this last wish, but it was amply fulfilled, some years later, by the Rev. John Eliot, known as the “apostle” to the Indians, who landed in Boston Nov. 3, 1631, and soon set about those studies in the difficult Indian vernacular which culminated in the publication (1663) of his complete revision of the Scriptures. “The History of the Christian Church does not contain,” wrote Edward Everett, “an example of resolute, untiring, successful labour” superior to this. It must always be remembered that as Roger Clap says of his com-

panions, "One end of our coming hither was to preach the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ to the Indians ; " ¹ and it may be forgiven to Francis Higginson if he did not foresee, on arrival, how difficult it would be to preach the gospel to these wild belligerents, or even to learn their language. It is something if he approached them, at least, in a kind and humane spirit.

He then proceeds to report on the actual condition of the colony : —

*Of the present condition of the Plantation, and
what it is*

"When we came first to Nehum-kek, we found about half a score houses, and a faire house newly built for the Governor, we found also abundance of corne planted by them, very good and well liking. And we brought with us about two hundred passengers and planters more, which by common consent of the old planters were all combined together into one body politicke, under the same Governour.

"There are in all of us both old and new planters about three hundred, whereof two hundred of them are settled at Nehum-kek, now called Salem : And the rest have planted themselves at Masathulets Bay, beginning to build a towne there which wee do call Cherton, or Charles Town.

"We that are settled at Salem make what haste we

¹ Young's Chronicles, p 364.

can to build houses, so that within a short time we shall have a faire towne.

“ We have great ordnance, wherewith we doubt not but we shall fortifie ourselves in a short time to keepe out a potent adversary. But that which is our greatest comfort, and meanes of defence above all other, is, that we have here the true religion and holy ordinances of Almighty God taught amongst us : Thankes be to God, wee have here plenty of preaching, and diligent catechizing, with strict and carefull exercise, and good and commendable orders to bring our people into a christian conversation with whom we have to doe withall. And thus wee doubt not but God will be with us, and *if God be with us, who can be against us ?* ”

[*Here ends Master Higgeson's relation of New-England*]

X.

THE REVOLT OF THE CONFORMISTS.

"For," said he, "there will be no difference between the conformable ministers and you, when they come to the practice of the ordinances out of the kingdom." — *John Robinson to Winslow.*

THE day of the ordination passed peacefully away, for all its novel forms; but trouble was impending. The innovations soon encountered the opposition of two very stout and unflinching churchmen who, though members of the Council of the colony, had made themselves previously the objects of dislike, as not having "adventured in the common stock" and as having shown in other ways an antagonistic spirit.¹ However this may have been, we can hardly blame them if they thought—what was simply the fact—that heresy was making a rapid though gentle progress. They doubtless felt, and with some reason, that whatever Francis Higginson may have said or thought on the voyage, his "sup of New England air" had quickly transformed him into something not easily to be distinguished from those "separatists" whom he had once disowned. Indeed they frankly declared

¹ Bentley in Mass. Hist. Coll, vi 242.

that the newly ordained ministers were already separatists, and on the way to become Anabaptists, — a name then significant of all terror to those familiar with the history of John of Munster and his Leyden atrocities. The nearest to a contemporary record of their action is to be found, as before, in the manuscripts of Governor Bradford, of Plymouth, as embodied in Morton's Memorial, already cited. His narration proceeds as follows : —

“ But some of the passengers that came over at the same time, observing that the ministers did not, at all, use the book of common prayer, and that they did administer baptism and the Lord's supper without the ceremonies, and that they professed also to use discipline in the congregation against scandalous persons, by a personal application of the word of God, as the case might require, and that some that were scandalous were denied admission into the church, they began to raise some trouble ; of these Mr. Samuel Brown and his brother were the chief, the one being a lawyer, the other a merchant, both of them amongst the number of the first patentees, men of estates, and men of parts and port in the place. These two brothers gathered a company together, in a place, distinct from the public assembly, and there sundry times, the book of common prayer was read unto such as resorted thither. The governour, Mr. Endicot, taking notice of the disturbance that began to grow amongst the people by this means, he con-

vented the two brothers before him. They accused the ministers as departing from the orders of the church of England, that they were separatists, and would be anabaptists, &c. but for themselves, they would hold to the orders of the church of England. The ministers answered for themselves, they were neither separatists nor anabaptists, they did not separate from the church of England, nor from the ordinances of God there, but only from the corruptions and disorders there; and that they came away from the common prayer and ceremonies, and had suffered much for their non-conformity in their native land, and therefore being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them, because they judged the imposition of these things to be sinful corruptions in the worship of God. The governour and council, and the generality of the people, did well approve of the ministers answer; and therefore finding those two brothers to be of high spirits, and their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction, the governour told them, that New England was no place for such as they; and therefore he sent them both back for England, at the return of the ships the same year; and though they breathed out threatenings both against the governour and ministers there, yet the Lord so disposed of all, that there was no further inconvenience followed upon it.”¹

¹ Morton's N. E. Memorial (ed. 1826), pp. 147, 148.

To see how the Lord disposed of it we must consider the important crisis of colonial affairs at which this difference of opinion occurred. The General Court which controlled the affairs of the Massachusetts Bay Colony had just decided (August 29, 1630), after prolonged and careful debate, upon a measure which has been said to "stand alone in the history of English colonization," — the bodily transfer to New England of "the whole patent and government of the plantation." Whatever may have been the legality or illegality of this much discussed measure, it is plain that the fate of the New World turned upon it, and it is possible that without the powerful weight thus thrown into the scale, the three struggling settlements at Jamestown, Plymouth, and Salem might all have given up the ghost, as the Popham Colony and various smaller enterprises had already done. This is not the place to go into an extended discussion of that measure, vital as were its results to Francis Higginson and his posterity. Few measures have been more discussed, or with a greater variety of epithets.

Brooks Adams¹ calls it a "singularly bold and lawless proceeding;" and R. C. Winthrop² calls it "a radical and almost revolutionary change." But it must be noted that the very agreement which effected the change provided that the government and patent should first be "legally transferred;" and Palfrey³ expressly says: "Legal advice was obtained

¹ The Emancipation of Massachusetts, p. 22.

² Life of John Winthrop, i. 342.

³ History of New England, i. 302.

as to the authority to make the transfer." The whole question of legality has always been regarded as very important, inasmuch as the whole matter of the right of Quakers and other dissentients to enter the colony hinged largely on this point.

That this importance of the legal aspect was fully recognized at the time, is signally shown in the fact that when, after long discussion, the vote was finally put to the "General Court" of the Company, it was put in this form (the italics being my own): "As many of you as desire to have the patent and the government of the Plantation to be transferred to New England, *so as it may be done legally*, hold up your hands; so many as will not, hold up your hands."

The following is the text of the momentous "Agreement at Cambridge":—

*"The true coppie of the agreement at Cambridge,
August 26, 1629.*

"Upon due consideration of the state of the plantation now in hand for New England, wherein wee (whose names are hereunto subscribed) have engaged ourselves: and having weighed the greatnes of the worke in regard of the consequence, God's glory and the churches good: As also in regard of the difficultyes and discouragements which in all probabilityes must be forecast upon the execution of this business: Considering withall that this whole adventure growes upon the joynt confidence we have in each others fidelity and resolution herein, so as no man of us

would have adventured it without assurance of the rest. Now for the better encouragement of ourselves and others that shall joyne with us in this action, and to the end that every man may without scruple dispose of his estate and afayres as may best fitt his preparation for this voyage, it is fully and faithfully agreed amongst us, and every of us doth hereby freely and sincerely promise and bind himself in the word of a christian and in the presence of God who is the searcher of all hearts, that we will really so endeavour the execution of this worke, as by Gods assistance we will be ready in our persons, and with such of our severall families as are to go with us, and such provision as we are able conveniently to furnish ourselves withall, to embarke for the said plantation by the first of March next, at such port or ports of this land as shall be agreed upon by the Companie, to the end to passe the seas (under God's protection) to inhabite and continue in New England. Provided always, that before the last of September next the whole government together with the patent for the said plantation be first by an order of court legally transferred and established to remain with us and others which shall inhabite upon the said plantation. And provided also that if any shall be hindered by such just and inevitable lett or other cause to be allowed by 3 parts of foure of these whole names are hereunto subscribed, then such persons for such tymes and during such letts to be discharged of this bond. And we do further promise every one for himselfe, that shall fayle

to be ready through his own default by the day appointed, to pay for every day's default the sum of 3*l.* to the use of the rest of the Companie who shall be ready by the same day and time.

"This was done by order of court the 29th of August, 1629.

RICHARD SALTONSTALL	ISAAC JOHNSON
THO : DUDLEY	JOHN HUMFREY
WILLIAM VASSALL	THO : SHARP
NIKO : WEST	INCREASE NOWELL
JOHN WINTHROP	
WILL PINCHON	
KELLAM BROWNE	
WILLIAM COLBRON."	

After a step so daring, it is not strange if a little reaction set in, and if the protests of "the Brownes" attracted more attention than would at another time have happened. The record of a meeting of the Court of Assistants in London, held Sept. 19, 1629, is as follows : —

"At this Court tres [letters] were read from Capt. Endicott and others from New E;¹ and wheras a difference hath falne out betwixt the Goun^t there & Mr. John & Samuell Browne, it was agreed by the Court that, for the determinacon of those differences, Mr. John & Samuell Browne might choose any 3 or 4 of the Company on their behalfe, to heare the said

¹ These letters are lost.

differences, the Company choosing as many: Whereupon the said Mr. John and Samuell Browne made choice of M^r Sam: Vassell and M^r W^m Vassell, M^r Symon Whetcombe, & M^r Will^m Pinchion; and for the Companie there were chosen M^r John Whyte, M^r John Davenport, M^r Isaac Johnson & M^r John Wyntropp; who, wth the Gournor or Deputie, are to determine and end the business the first Tewsdays in the next tearme; and if any of the aforementioned ptyes [parties] bee absent, others to bee chosen by ether ptyes in their steade." ¹

So the matter was referred and postponed, and the next paragraph proceeds to the matter of unlading the "Lyon's Whelpe" and the "Talbot," the returned ships of Francis Higginson's expedition.

At the next meeting of the General Court (Sept. 29, 1629), this further action was taken:—

"The next thinge taken into consideraçon was the tres [letters] from M^r Jo. & Samuell Browne to divers of their private freinds heere in England, whether the same should bee deliuered or detained, & whether they should bee opened & read, or not; and for that it was to bee doubted by pbable [probable] circumstances, that they had defamed the country of New England & the Goüffno^r & goünm^t there, it was thought fitt that some of the said tres [letters] should bee opened & pubhquely read, w^{ch} was done accord-

¹ Massachusetts Records, i 51.

ingly; and the rest to remaine at M^r Deputyes house, & the ptyes [parties] to whom they are directed to haue notice, and M^r Goũno^r, M^r Deputie, M^r Trê^r & M^r Wright, or any two of them, are intreated to bee at the opning & reading thereof, to the end the Company may haue notice, if ought bee incerted therein w^{ch} may bee piudiciall [prejudicial] to their goĩnm^t, or plantaçon in New England.

“And it is also thought fitt that none of the tres [letters] from Mr. Sam : Browne shalbe deliũred, but kept to bee made vse of against him as occasion shalbe offred.”¹

At the close of the same meeting it is recorded :—

“Upon the desire of M^r John & Samuell Browne, it is thought fitt & ordered that they should haue a copy of the accusaçon sent from New England ag^t them, to the end that they may bee the better ppared [prepared] to make answer thervnto.”²

At a meeting held Oct. 16, 1629, it is recorded :—

“Lastly, tres [letters] were read and signed to M^r Endecott, M^r Skelton & M^r Higgison, as appears by the entryes of them in the book of coppyes of tres [letters].”³

There is no further reference to the subject in the records of the Company, although there are one or two references to an alleged undervaluation of goods—material, not spiritual goods—belonging to the

¹ Records of Massachusetts, i. 52, 53.

² Ibid., 54.

³ Ibid., 57.

Messrs. Browne, and brought by them from New England to England. The London records close March 29, on the transfer of the government to the colony, and the complainants thenceforth disappear from the scene. But the subsequent seizure and transfer to England of a more conspicuous personage, Thomas Morton of Merry Mount, necessarily revived the same question of colonial authority, and all the later proceedings against Quakers and Baptists involved much the same point; namely, how far the Massachusetts Bay Colony was now in the position of a self-governing body, with the right to select its own members, and how far it was limited by English law. It is a subject on which volumes have been written, and which is aside from the subject of the present work. All that is here necessary is to give the letters sent by the Company to "the ministers," adding also that to Governor Endicott, as explanatory of the first.

"Reverend freinds.

"There are lately arrived heere (being sent from the Gouno^r M^r Endecott, as Men factious and (evill) conditioned) John and Samuell Browne being brethre(n,) who since their arrivall haue raised rumo^{rs} (as we hear) of divers scandalous & intemperate speeches passed from one or both of yo^u in yo^r publique Sermons or prayer(s) in N: England, as also of some inovácons attempted by yo^u, wee haue reason to hope that their reports are but slanders pty for that yo^r Godly and quiett conditions are well knowne to some of vs, as also for that these Men yo^r accusers seeme

to bee imbittered against yoⁿ & Capt Endecott for iniuries w^{ch} they conceive they haue received from some of yoⁿ there, yett for that wee all knowe that the best advysed may overshoothe themselues wee haue thought good to informe yoⁿ of what wee heare that if yoⁿ bee innocent yoⁿ may cleere yo^rselues, or if otherwise yoⁿ may heereby bee intreated to looke back vpon yo^r miscarriage wth repentance, or at least to take notice that wee vtterly disallowe any such passages, and must and will take Order for the redress thereof as shall become vs, but hoping as we said, of yo^r vnblamableness herein wee desire only that this may testyfie to yoⁿ & others that wee are tender of the least aspersion w^{ch} ether directly or obliquely may bee cast vpon the State heere to whom wee owe soe much duty and from whom wee haue received soe much fauo^r in this plantacon where yoⁿ now resyde, soe wth o^r loue & due respect to yo^r Callings wee rest

yo^r loving freinds

LONDON 16 Octo 1629.

R: SALTONSTALL
ISA: JOHNSON.

MATT. CRADOCK *Go^r*
THO: GOFF *dep^t*
GEO: HARWOOD *T^rer.*
JOHN WINTHROP
THO: ADAMS
SYM: WHETCOMBE
WILLM VASSALL
W^m PINCHION
JOHN REVELL
FRANCIS WEBB.

MR SKELTON & MR HIGGISON."

“S^r

“As wee haue written at this tyme to M^r Skelton & M^r Higginson touching the rumo^{rs} of Jo: & Sam: Browne spread by them vpon their arrivall heere, concerning some vnadvysed and scandalous speeches vttered by them in their publike sermons or prayers, Soe haue wee thought meete to advertise yo^u of what they haue reported against yo^u and them, concerninge some rash inovaçons begun and practized in the Civill & ecclesiasticall Go^vnm^t: Wee doe well consider that the Brownes are likely to make the worst of any thing they haue observed in N: England by reason of yo^u sending them back against their wills for their offensive behavio^r expressed in a geⁿall lre from the Company there, yett for that wee likewise doe consider, that yo^u are in a Go^vnm^t: newly founded & want that assistance w^{ch} the waight of such a business doth require, wee may haue leave to thinke that it is possible some vndigested Councells haue too sodainely bin put in execu^{ti}on w^{ch} may haue ill construc^{ti}on wth the State heere, and make vs obnoxious to any adversary, Lett it therfore seeme good vnto yo^u to bee very sparing in introducing any lawes or Co^mands, w^{ch} may render yo^rselfe or vs distastfull to the State heere to w^{ch} (as wee ought) wee must & will haue an obsequious eye; and as wee make it o^r mayne care to haue the Plantaçon so Ordered as may be most for the hono^r of God, and o^r gracious Sou^eraigne who hath bestowed many large p^riuiledges and Royall fauo^{rs} vpon this Companie, soe we desire

that all such as shall by word or deede do anythinge to detract from Gods Glory or his Ma^{ties}: hono^r may bee duly Corrected for their amendm^t: & the terror of others, and to that end if you knowe anythinge w^{ch} hath bin spoken or done, ether by the Ministers (whom the Brownes doe seeme tacetly to blame for some things vttered in their Sermons or prayers) or any others, wee require yo^u if any such thinge bee, that yo^u forme due p^{ro}ces against the offendo^{rs} and send it to vs by the first that wee may as o^{ur} duty bindes vs, vse meanes to haue them duly punished; Soe not doubting but wee haue said enough wee shall repose o^{ur}selues vpon yo^{ur} Wisdome; And doe rest

yo^{ur} loving freinds

dated and signed as the
form^{er} tre to M^r Skelton
& M^r Higgison.

To the Go^uerno^r Cap^t:
ENDECOTT.¹"

It is well said by Mr. Justice Endicott of the Massachusetts Supreme Court that these letters are "cautious and politic," and that the art of his distinguished ancestor was never formally disapproved. He adds: "The Colony was like a ship at sea or an army on the march, and disaffection and mutiny in the crew

¹ Both these letters have been reprinted in the First Book of Suffolk Deeds (Boston), pp. xxii, xxiii. They are also reprinted by Rev. Alexander Young in his "Chronicles of Massachusetts," p 15, but with the spelling modernized.

or in the ranks must be summarily dealt with. The wide continent was open to colonization, but the narrow strip of land called Massachusetts had been given to this people as their own, with power to determine who should enjoy and be admitted to its privileges, and upon what terms and conditions."

"Nevertheless, wee desire (if it may bee) that errors may be reformed wth lenitie or mylde correc^{ti}on; and if any pve [prove] incorrigable & will not bee reclaimed by gentle correc^{ti}on, ship such p^{er}sons home by the Lyons Whelpe, rather then keepe them there to infect or to be an occasion of scandall vnto others; wee being fully pswaded that if one or two bee soe re-shipped back and certificate sent home of their misdemeano^r, it wilbe a terror to the rest and a meanes to reduce them to good conformitie." ¹

Here the matter seems to have remained for the present; but four years later the recusants returned from England, and seem to have dwelt in peace thereafter with the established powers. Their prediction was not fulfilled. The ministers became separatists, but did not become anabaptists; and the growth and increasing power of the colony made the friction of opposing opinions in some respects less intense, while at other points it went on increasing. Reviewing the whole controversy, it is impossible not to feel that it had an historic importance as the first of a

¹ Records of Massachusetts, i 393 (April 17, 1629).

long series of rather aggressive self-assertions on the part of the Puritan colony. "The policy they pursued," says Felt, "in reference to civil and ecclesiastical affairs was not peculiar to them. It was common to their successors in the colonial administration, was frequently complained of by the sovereigns of England, and ultimately became the cause of our independence."¹

¹ Felt's *Annals of Salem* (1st ed.), p. 39. For the controversy between Governor Endicott and the two Brownes, a controversy in which Francis Higginson and his colleague seem to have furnished rather the occasion than the participants, see Moiton's *Memorial*, p. 147; Chalmers' *Political Annals*, p. 146; Grahame's *History of the United States*, i. 218, Bancroft (ed. 1876), i. 272; Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, pp. 89, 91, 94, 123, 168, 287; Palfrey's *New England*, i. 298, Adams's *Emancipation of Massachusetts*, p. 87; Felt's *Annals of Salem* (2d ed.), i. 130.

XI.

A SALEM PARSONAGE.

A work of church reformation in America. — MATHER *Magnalia*.

THE further history of Francis Higginson is identified with that of the little colony itself. He seems to have been the leader in regard to the change of name by which Naumkeag, or Nahum-kek, became Salem, as being the home of peace.¹ "In obedience to orders from the Company in London, a house was built for Francis Higginson, in which he resided, and after him, Roger Williams, directly south of and about fifty feet distant from the eastern part of the site of our present meeting-house [*i. e.* that of the First Church in Salem]; its front was towards the South River. It stood on ground covered by the southeastern corner of the Asiatic Block, precisely where the Merchants' Reading Room now is. Nearer to the river, and more towards the east, a house was provided for Mr. Skelton. Both the ministers resided very near to this spot, and their convenience, we may presume, was consulted in the arrangements made for the exercise of their public functions. An unfinished building of one story

¹ Felt's Salem (1st ed.), p. 27.

was temporarily used at the beginning, for the purposes of the congregation.”¹ This must not be confounded with the small building still preserved in Salem, in the rear of Plummer Hall, for this was not built until 1634, after Francis Higginson’s work was ended.

Of that work, we must remember, the pulpit duty was but a small part. The Puritan clergy of the colony were not merely “pastors” or “teachers,” but they were also the magistrates of the colony, and members of its civil government. Francis Higginson’s own writings show how familiar he was with all aspects of the colonial life; and he had to be the actual guide of his people, as well as their spiritual adviser, during that terrible ordeal of privation which went on, even after the arrival of Winthrop, June, 1630, during a time when, in the words of Captain Roger Clap, “frost-fish, muscles and clams, were a relief unto many.”²

It is the Salem tradition, as expressed by Felt, that Francis Higginson “in his person was slender and erect, but not tall. In his manners he was courteous and obliging. His talents were of a high order. He well cultivated them in the fields of literature and divinity. A primitive writer on New England³ says of him, ‘A man endued with grace, apt to teach,

¹ Upham’s Address at the Re-dedication of the First Church, p. 38.

² Young’s Chronicles of Massachusetts, p. 353.

³ Edward Johnson.

mighty in the Scriptures, learned in the Tongues, able to convince gainsayers.' As a preacher, Mr. Higginson was uncommonly popular."¹ In England he had, according to his son John, addressed "thousands;" but of his pulpit services in America, there remains no record, except that his last sermon, delivered but a few weeks before his death, was from Matt. xi. 7: "What went ye out into the wilderness to see?"² This sermon was preached before Governor Winthrop, and the large body of settlers who came with him; and it may be that advancing illness had impaired that "charming voice" which is said by Neal, the historian of the Puritans, to have made Francis Higginson "one of the most acceptable and popular preachers in the country,"³ — and this while yet in England. We know that, out of the pulpit, he showed the same liberal tendency which marked the covenant he framed, and that he was "seriously studious of reformation." This is shown in the following statement from "New England's Memorial," by Morton, which had the sanction of the Rev. John Higginson by a preface, and may therefore be relied upon for all that relates to his father and predecessor in the Salem Church: —

"The two ministers there being seriously studious of reformation, they considered of the state of their children, together with their parents; concerning which, letters did pass between Mr. Higginson, and

¹ Felt's *Annals of Salem* (1st ed.), p. 45.

² Morton's *Memorial* (ed. 1826), p. 150, note.

³ *Ibid.*

Mr. Brewster, the reverend elder of the church of Plymouth, and they did agree in their judgments, viz. concerning the church-membership of the children with their parents, and that baptism was a seal of their membership ; only when they were adult, they being not scandalous, they were to be examined by the church officers, and upon their approbation of their fitness, and upon the children's public and personally owning of the covenant, they were to be received unto the Lord's supper. Accordingly, Mr. Higginson's eldest son, being about fifteen¹ years of age, was owned to have been received a member, together with his parents, and being privately examined by the pastor, Mr. Skelton, about his knowledge in the principles of religion, he did present him before the church when the Lord's supper was to be administered, and the child, then publicly and personally owning the covenant of the God of his father, he was admitted unto the Lord's supper ; it being then professedly owned, according to 1 Cor. vii. 14, that the children of the church are holy unto the Lord as well as their parents, accordingly the parents owning and retaining the baptism, which they themselves received in their infancy, in their native land, as they had any children born, baptism was administered unto them, viz. to the children of such as were members of that particular church." ²

¹ Thirteen ; he being just fourteen when his father died.

² Morton's *New England's Memorial* (ed 1826), pp 148,

That access of health for which Francis Higginson had expressed such gratitude in his journal had proved very deceptive ; and a man of consumptive habit, like him, was ill-fitted to endure the periods of terrible privation which weakened the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Many suffered from scurvy, the natural result of six weeks' voyages, followed by privation on shore ; but the death of Francis Higginson (August 6, 1630) was from a hectic fever, according to Mather, and from consumption, according to a letter from Deputy-Governor Dudley. Governor Winthrop wrote to his wife, Sept. 9, 1630 : "The lady Arbella is dead, and good Mr. Higginson ; my servant, old Waters of Neyland, and many others."¹ In this letter he rejoices that most of his own family are living, but writes again two months later : "Twelve of my own family"² are dead, this including servants. It was a sad and sorrowing period, but for no one more truly so, perhaps, than for the widow of Francis Higginson, left with eight children to be brought up on a soil and under conditions which had been fatal to her husband.

Cotton Mather thus draws the final picture : —

"The church of *Salem* now being settled, they enjoyed many *smiles* of Heaven upon them; and yet

¹ Life and Letters, ii. 48. This was Lady Arbella or Arabella Johnson, who was a daughter of Thomas, 3d Earl of Lincoln, and who, as Cotton Mather wrote, "took New England in her way to heaven." The Johnson Grammar School for girls in Boston is named for her.

² Life and Letters, ii. 54

there were many things, that lookt like frowns: for, they were exercised with many difficulties, and almost an hundred of good people died the first winter of their being here; among whom was Mr. *Houghton*, an elder of the church. Mr. *Higginson* also fell into an hectic-fever,¹ which much disabled him for the work of his ministry; and the *last sermon* under the incurable growth of this malady upon him, was upon the arrival of many gentlemen, and some hundreds of passengers to *New England*, in the beginning of the ensuing summer. He then preached on those words of our Saviour, Matth. xi. 7, *What went you out into the wilderness to see?* From whence, he minded the people of the *design*, whereupon this plantation was erected, namely religion: and of the streights, wants, and various *trials*, which in a *wilderness* they must look to meet withal; and of the need which there was for them to evidence the *uprightness* of their hearts, in the end of their coming hither. After this, he was confined unto his bed, and visited by the chief persons of the new-colony, who much *bemoaned* their loss of so useful a person, but comforted him with the consideration of his faithfulness to the Lord Jesus, in his former sufferings and services, and the honour which the Lord had granted him, to begin a work of *church reformation in America*. He replied, *I have been but an unprofitable servant; and all my own doings I count but loss and dung: all my desire is to win Christ, and*

¹ Deputy-Governor Dudley says "consumption" Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 317.

be found in him, not having my own righteousness ! And he several times declared, *That though the Lord called him away, he was perswaded God would raise up others, to carry on the work that was begun, and that there would yet be many churches of the Lord Jesus Christ in this wilderness.* He likewise added, *that though he should leave his desolate wife and eight children, whereof the eldest but about fourteen years old, in a low condition, yet he left them with his God, and he doubted not but the faithful God would graciously provide for them.* So, in the midst of many prayers, he fell asleep ; as in the month of *August*, 1630, and in the forty-third year of his age, and his funeral was attended with all possible solemnity.

“ *Reader*, prepare to behold and admire and adore the faithfulness of our *God*, in providing for the children of them, that faithfully have served him. He moved the hearts of many charitable christians, who yet were spending on the stocks, which they brought out of *England* with them, to provide as comfortably for the widow and off-spring of this deceased minister, as if he had left them some thousands of pounds. And his two sons, who had been brought up at the *grammar-school* in *Leicester*, had a particular tast of this liberality, in the provision which was thus made for their having such a learned education, as might fit them for the service of the church in the ministry of the gospel.”¹

¹ *Magnalia* (ed. 1820), i. 329, 330.

Moses Coit Tyler truly says of him that he "died in the prime of his life and on the threshold of a great career."¹ Had he lived, like his son and successor, to be ninety-two instead of forty-three, it is difficult to measure the influence he might have exerted on the fortunes of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Even as it was, his benign influence helped to mould its beginning; and we may dismiss him with Cotton Mather's quaint epitaph:

"EPITAPHIUM

Facet sub hoc Tumulo, Mortuus

FRANCISCUS HIGGINSONUS:

Jaceret et ipsa Virtus, si mori posset,

Abi Viator

Et sis hujus Ordinis Franciscanus."

The evidence in regard to the portraits of Francis Higginson is somewhat contradictory, and the doubts may perhaps never be wholly solved. The Rev. Dr. Bentley, the first historian of Salem, writing about 1800, says explicitly: "There is a half-length painting of Francis Higginson in the Council Chamber at Boston, in the old State House."² This gave unquestionably the unbroken Salem tradition on that point, the descendants of Francis Higginson being then numerous and prominent there; and the fact that a copy of this picture was made for the Salem Athenæum, and that another belonged to Dr. Bentley himself, and was

¹ Tyler's History of American Literature, ii 167.

² Mass. Hist. Coll, vol. vi. p. 275.

bequeathed by him to the Antiquarian Society at Worcester, may be regarded as making the traditional evidence very strong. All three of the pictures formerly bore the name of Francis Higginson on labels. The Boston picture was removed from the old State House to the new, where it hung at first in the Council Chamber; then Gov. J. A. Andrew, who was himself a descendant of Francis Higginson, had it removed to his private office, whence it was removed to the Secretary of State's office, where it still hangs. It was carefully compared with the Worcester picture, which was brought to Boston for that purpose, some years since; the examination being made by Mr. George Fuller, the celebrated artist, and Mr. J. Eastman Chase, as experts, in presence of Col. Henry Lee, Mr. Waldo Higginson (my brother), and myself, all three being descendants of Francis Higginson. All agreed that the Boston picture was the original, and all were perplexed by the existence of a date painted on the side of the picture, and later than the death of its supposed subject.

Doubts had been long since expressed as to which of the Higginson clergymen the picture represented; and Dr. Alexander Young had positively announced in 1846, after giving a sketch of Francis Higginson's life, "The portrait at the State House in Boston is not his, but his son John's."¹ This doubt was caused by the apparent age of the face represented, which certainly looks old for a man who died at forty-three.

¹ Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 317, note.

Yet it is to be remembered that Francis Higginson had long been an invalid, that many men are more or less gray at forty-three, and that the effect of the Puritan dress is to increase the effect of age. Moreover the date on the picture is equally incompatible with this supposition.

XII.

FRANCIS HIGGINSON'S HOUSEHOLD.

My Fathers and Brethren, this is never to be forgotten that New England is originally a plantation of Religion, not a plantation of Trade. Let Merchants and such as are increasing *Cent per Cent* remember this. Let others that have come over since at several times remember this, that worldly gain was not the end and designe of the people of New England, but Religion. And if any man amongst us make Religion as twelve and the world as thirteen, let such an one know he hath neither the spirit of a true New England man nor yet of a sincere Christian. — *Election Sermon* (May 27, 1663). “*The Cause of God and his People in New England*,” p. 11, by the Rev. John Higginson.

WE learn from Cotton Mather that the widow and children of Francis Higginson were duly cared for by the colony. On Jan. 26, 1631, she wrote to Governor Winthrop a letter of thanks for “two kine and house and money in the hands of Mr. Coddington.”¹ She removed for a time to Charlestown, we know not why, and afterward to New Haven; and during one of these absences we know that one hundred and fifty acres of land — more than the average allotment — were reserved for her in Salem, by the Company, should she decide to return thither. In the earliest manuscript book of records of town lands preserved in Salem, there

¹ Felt's Annals (1st ed.), p. 522.

is a list of allotments down to 1636, at the end of which appears, "For Mrs. Higenson if she come 150 acres."

Felt, in his "Memoir of Francis Higginson,"² thinks that Ann Higginson went to New Haven soon after 1638, when the place was first settled by Theophilus Eaton and other prominent Puritans; and he thinks that Eaton — the first Governor of the New Haven Colony — may perhaps have been her brother, from the fact that one of her sons was named after him, and that another was bound to Governor Eaton as a "servant" or apprentice, after his father's death.³ She died at New Haven early in 1640, and her estate was the first which came before the court of magistrates for settlement, after the planting of the colony. Professor Kingsley, in his *Historical Discourse at New Haven* (1838), preserves for us the record of the court (Feb. 25, 1640), — modernizing the spelling, — and states that the court was professedly guided in its decisions solely by "the general rules of righteousness."

Ann Higginson's Estate.

"Mrs. Higginson, late planter of Quinnipiac, dying without making her will, and leaving behind her eight children, an inventory of her estate being taken, the court disposed of her estate and children as followeth,

¹ Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., ix. 21.

² Reprinted (1852) from the "New England Historic-Genaealogical Register."

³ Leonard Bacon asserts this relationship as unquestionable, in "Genesis of the New England Churches," p. 459.

with consent and approbation of Mr. John Higginson, her eldest son.

"The said John Higginson, the charges of his education considered, is only to have his father's books, together with the value of £5 in bedding for his portion.

"Francis Higginson, the second son, and Timothy the third son, their education also considered, are to have each of them £20 for their portions.

"Theophilus Higginson, though well educated, yet in regard of his helpfulness to his mother and her estate, is to have £40 for his portion.

"Samuel Higginson is also to have £40 for his portion, and to be with Mr. Eaton as his servant, for the full term of two years from the first of March next ensuing.

"Theophilus and Samuel are to have the lot, with all the accommodations belonging thereunto, equally to be divided between them for £50 of their portions.

"Ann Higginson, her daughter, is to have £40 for her portion, and her mother's old clothes, together with the remainder of the estate, when the debts and other portions are paid.

"Charles Higginson is to have £40 to his portion, and to be with Thomas Fugill as his apprentice, unto the full end and term of nine years, from the first of March next ensuing the date hereof; and the said Thomas Fugill is to find him what is convenient for him as a servant, and to keep him at school one year, or else to advantage him as much in his education as

a year's learning comes to ; and he is to have the benefit of the use of his portion till the said term be expired, and at the end thereof to pay it to the said Charles Higginson, but if he die before, then the said Thomas Fugill is to pay the said portion to the rest of his brothers, that are alive at the end of said nine years.

"Neophytus Higginson¹ being with Mr. Hough in the Bay of Massachusetts is to remain with him and to be brought up with him, till he attain the full age of twenty one years, and in the mean time Mr. Hough is to have £40 of the estate, which he is to pay to the said Neophytus at the end of the said term, as his portion.

"When the farm at Saugus is sold, it is to be equally divided among the brothers."²

A record from an old family history in manuscript, preserved in the family, and used by Dr. Henry Wheatland of Salem in his "*Materials for a Genealogy of the Higginson Family*,"³ carries the record on to the end of the lives for whose uncertain future the New Haven Court provided. It runs thus : —

Children of Francis and Ann Higginson.

"1. John, born at Claybrook [Leicester, England], Aug. 6, 1616.

¹ [The only one of these children born at Salem.]

² Kingsley's *Historical Discourse*, p. 103.

³ *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, v. 33.

"2. Francis, born 1617; was for a time schoolmaster at Cambridge [U. S.]; went to Europe; resided at London for some time, and visited several of the Universities for the improvement of his mind; settled as a minister at Kerby Steven in Westmoreland, England; and there he died, unmarried, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

"3. Timothy was a mariner and died unmarried.

"4. Theophilus died at the age of 37, leaving one son, Samuel, born at New Haven, Aug. 26, 1640.

"5. Samuel, Capt. of a Man-of-War in Cromwell's time, afterwards Capt. of an East-Indiaman, died at the age of 44.

"6. Ann married Thomas Chatfield of Guilford, New Haven, Easthampton. L. I.; probably no children.

"7. Mary died Tuesday, May 19th, 1629, during the passage, aged 4 years.

"8. Charles, Captain of a ship in the Jamaica trade, died at the age of 49.

"9. Neophytus died at the age of about 20 years."¹

Of the two eldest and best known of these children, Cotton Mather gives the following description:—

"One of these, *Francis* by name, was for a time a school-master at our *Cambridge*, but having attained as much learning as *New England* could then afford,

¹ Manuscript Book. Compare Wheatland in Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., v. 33; Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts, p. 211; Mather's Magnalia, i. 330; Kingsley's Historical Discourse, p. 103.

he was desirous to visit some *European* university ; and being recommended unto *Roterdam*, some *Dutch* merchants, out of respect unto an hopeful scholar of *New England*, contributed fourscore pounds in money to assist his juvenile studies at *Leyden*. Afterwards having visited some other universities in those parts, he returned into *England* ; where he declined a settlement in some other, which he thought more opinionative, and so more contentious and undesirable places, to which he was invited, and settled at *Kerby-Steven* in *Westmoreland*, hoping to do most good among the ignorant people there. But it pleased the God of Heaven to permit the first out-breaking of that prodigious and comprehensive heresy *Quakerism* in that very place ; and a multitude of people being bewitched thereinto, it was a great affliction unto this worthy man ; but it occasioned his writing the first book that ever was written against that sink of blasphemies, entitled, *The Irreligion of Northern Quakers*. This learned person was the author of a Latin treatise, *De quinque, maximis Luminibus : De Luce Increata ; De Luce creata ; De Lumine Naturæ, Gratiæ & Gloriæ* ; and having illuminated the house of God in that part of it, where our Lord had set him to shine, he went away to the *light of glory*, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

“The other named *John*, has been on some laudable accounts another *Origen* ; for the father of *Origen* would kiss the uncovered breast of that excellent youth, whilst he lay asleep, as being the temple where

the spirit of God was resident, and as *Origen*, after the untimely death of his father, had his poor mother with six other children to look after ; whereupon he taught first a *grammar-school*, and then betook himself unto the study of divinity ; thus this other Higginson after a pious childhood, having been a school-master at *Hartford*, and a minister at *Saybrook*, and afterwards at *Gulford*, became at length in the year 1659, a *pastor*, and a rich and long *blessing*, succeeding his father in his church at *Salem*. This reverend person has been always valued for his useful *preaching*, and his holy *living* ; and besides his constant labours in the *pulpit*, whereby his own flock has been edified ; the whole country has, by the *press*, enjoyed some of his composures, and by his hand, the composures of some others also, passing the *press*, have been accompanied. Having formerly born his testimony to, *The cause of God, and his people in New England*, in a sermon so entituled, which he preached on the greatest anniversary *solemnity*, which occurred in the land, namely, the anniversary *election* ; when he thought, that the advance of old age upon him directed him to *live* in the hourly expectation of *death*, he published a most savoury book, on *Our dying Saviour's Legacy of Peace to his disciples in a troublesome world ; with a Discourse on the Duty of Christians, to be witnesses unto Christ ; unto which is added, some Help to Self-Examination*.

“ Nevertheless, this true *Simeon* is yet waiting for the consolation of Israel. This good old man is yet

alive ; (in the year 1696) arrived unto the eightieth year of his devout *age*, and about the sixtieth year of his publick work, and he, that *from a child knew the holy scriptures*, does at those years wherein men use to be *twice children*, continue preaching them with such a manly, pertinent, judicious vigour, and with so little decay of his intellectual abilities, as is indeed a matter of just admiration. But there was a famous divine in *Germany*, who on his death bed when some of his friends took occasion to commend his past painful, faithful, and fruitful ministry, cried out unto them [*Auferte Ignem adhuc enim puleus habeo !*] *Oh ! bring not the sparks of your praises near me, as long as I have any chaff left in me !* And I am sensible that I shall receive the like check from this my reverend father, if I presume to do him the *justice*, which a few months hence will be done him, in all the churches ; nor would I deserve at his hands, the blow which Constantine gave to him, who *Imperatorem ausus est, in Os Beatum dicere.*"¹

Cotton Mather did not in any respect exaggerate the important part rendered in the colony by the eldest son of Francis Higginson. From childhood, John Higginson took a prominent part in affairs, being at thirteen a member of his father's church ; at twenty being sent at the head of a commission with Lieut. Edward Gibbons, and Cutshamekin, Sagamore of Massachusetts, to wait on Canonicus, chief of the

¹ *Magnalia* (ed. 1820), i. 330, 331.

Narragansett, concerning the murder of John Oldham, while on a trading voyage to Block Island ;¹ and at twenty-one being appointed scribe of the Cambridge Assembly, to take down its proceedings in shorthand, — a report unfortunately lost. He was afterwards teacher of the grammar school at Hartford ; was chaplain of the Fort at Saybrook, where he took part in the defence conducted by the celebrated Lion Gardiner ; and went afterwards to Guilford, Conn., where he was assistant to Rev. Henry Whitfield, whose daughter Sarah he married, the wedding having taken place in the old stone mansion, still standing, and now the oldest house within the original limits of the United States. His mother having lately died, he was about removing to London in 1659, to settle her estate, when the vessel which bore himself and family was driven by stress of weather into Salem harbor, where he was persuaded to remain, and take charge of the church founded by his father thirty years before. He was ordained in August, 1660, and remained in continuous service until Dec. 9, 1708, winning for himself the honorable title of “the Nestor of the New England clergy.”

John Higginson undoubtedly sympathized with the prevalent hostility to the Friends or Quakers, — a feeling not diminished in his case, doubtless, by the fact that John Smith of Salem was arrested for making a disturbance at his ordination by crying out, “What you are going about to set up, our God is pulling down.”

¹ Felt's *Annals of Salem* (1st ed.), p. 99.

He is even reported in Bishop's "New England Judged," but without specifying time or place, to have characterized the Inner Light, as then and there manifested, as being "a stinking vapor from hell."¹ But his name is not identified, I believe, with any of the judicial cruelties aimed at these persecuted people;² though it is very probable that he fully approved the action of the county court when it sentenced Thomas Maule, known to the readers of Hawthorne's "House of the Seven Gables," to be whipped ten stripes for saying that "Mr. Higginson preached lies, and his doctrine was the doctrine of devils."³

If, however, the younger Higginson shared in this respect the sins and delusions of his time, — and we must remember that even the benevolent Samuel Sewall called Quakerism "devil-worship,"⁴ — he partially atoned for it by his courageous attitude, even in old age, against the witchcraft delusion and against

¹ Hallowell's Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts, pp. 85, 95.

² It is a curious fact that one John Higgington in England, who may have been a relative, — so loose was then the general practice in respect to spelling, — was the second on the list of Friends who signed a memorial, endorsed by George Fox, which led to the establishment of the first "Meeting for Discipline" at Durham, in 1653. See Bowden's History of Friends in America (1850), i. 209

³ Sewall's Diary, i. 415. Goodell, in Essex Inst. Hist Coll, iii., gives a full account of Maule, who was afterward indicted again and acquitted, and published two pamphlets, one of which was entitled "Persecutors Mauled with their own weapons."

⁴ Sewall's Diary, ii. 232.

African slavery. His position on the former question was the more remarkable, as his colleague Nicholas Noyes was one of the chief prosecutors; and John Higginson was then seventy-six years of age. Yet he was ready to testify in favor of Goodwife Buckley, arraigned as a witch, and attested her to be "a serious godly woman." This involved him in such reproach among the fanatics that his own daughter Anna, wife of Capt. William Dollibar of Gloucester, was arrested as a witch, and confined for a time in Salem jail; an infallible proof of his courage and independence according to the chief historian of the delusion since those who instigated the excitement "were sure to punish all who were suspected to disapprove of the proceedings."¹

"No character in our annals," continues Upham, "shines with a purer lustre." John Dunton, the London bookseller, visited him in 1686, when seventy, and says of him: "All men look to him as to a common father; and old age, for his sake, is a reverent thing. He is eminent for all the graces that adorn a minister. His very presence puts vice out of countenance; his conversation is a glimpse of heaven." He had been, in the words of the Massachusetts Company's first letter to Endicott, "trained up in literature" at the grammar school in Leicester, and was therefore recommended for a medical education,² but the inevitable influence of the time led him to the profession of his father, while he always retained

¹ Upham's *Salem Witchcraft*, ii. 194, 363.

² Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 166.

that breadth of intellectual interest which held out so remarkably, amidst many intellectual vagaries, in the second generation of Massachusetts Puritans. He was one of the first men in the colony to urge the importance of historical investigations, uniting with the Rev. Thomas Thacher in an address "To the Reader," prefaced to Morton's New England's Memorial, to which address the name of John Higginson is first signed. The signers say: "It is much to be desired there might be extant *A Compleat History of the United Colonies of New England* . . . that the true Originals of these plantations may not be lost, that New England in all times to come, may remember the day of her smallest things, and that there may be a furniture of Materials for a true and full history in after-times." And they express the hope that "what is wanting in this *Narrative* may be supplied by some others; and so in the issue, from divers *Memorials* there may be matter for a just *History of New England*, in the Lord's good time." This preface bears date March 26, 1669.

John Higginson also wrote the preface to Cotton Mather's "*Magnalia Christi Americana*," and says in it of himself, Jan. 25, 1697: —

"As for myself, having been, by the mercy of God, now above sixty-eight years in New England, and served the Lord and his people, in my weak measure, *sixty years* in the ministry of the gospel, I may now say in my old age, *I have seen all that the Lord*

hath done for his people in New England, and have known the beginning and progress of these churches unto this day, and having read over much of this *history*, I cannot but in the love and fear of God, bear witness to the truth of it." ¹

And at the end of the preface he gives a solitary proof that he too, at the age of eighty, shared the current tendency to Latin verse-making, — he himself calling it "poetry," — to this effect: —

"Epigramma Matheros.

"O Nimium Dilecte Deo, Venerande Mathere
Gaudens tot Natos Christi numerare Ministros!
Dat Deus ut tales insurgant usque Matheri,
Et Nati Natorum, et qui Nascentur ab illis.
Has inter stellas fulgens, Cottone Mathere,
Patrum tu sequeris vestigia semper adorans,
Phosphorus ast aliis!" ²

The quaint and inexhaustible diaries of our New England Pepys, Samuel Sewall, have repeated references to John Higginson, with whom Sewall often interchanged books and papers, and sometimes visits or dinners, when the one was in Boston or the other in Salem.³ More important is the fine letter written by Sewall to John Higginson when the former stood up, almost unsupported, to protest in his tract called "The Selling of Joseph," against the African slave

¹ Magnalia, i. 10.

² Ibid, 13.

³ Sewall's Diary, i. 89, 90, 140, 143, 227, 249, 346, etc. John Higginson's grandson (John Higginson 3d), married Sewall's daughter. Ibid., ii. 26.

trade and slavery itself. He writes to him (April 13, 1706) : " Amidst the Frowns and hard Words I have met with for this undertaking, it is no small refreshment to me, that I have the Learned, Reverend, and Aged Mr. Higginson for my Abettor. By the interposition of this Brest-Work, I hope to carry on and manage this enterprise with Safety and Success." ¹ John Higginson was at this time ninety years old. Sewall describes his death two years later, Dec. 8, 1708, and his funeral " a little before sunset " five days after ; and the annalist, ever sure to mingle accurate observation with moralizing, reports that all the six bearers wore their own hair. ² This had doubtless some interest in the observer's mind, from the fact that at one of Sewall's last interviews with John Higginson the venerable divine showed him a treatise on " Perriwigs," which Sewall wished to have printed but which the author withheld from publication. ³

His funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Cotton Mather, under the title, " The Happy Dismissal of a Holy Believer, a Funeral Sermon on the Death of the Reverend John Higginson, with Memoirs of his Life, 1709." Copies of this discourse are to be found in the Prince Library and the Library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass. ⁴

¹ Sewall's Letter-Book, i. 326 ; Moore's Slavery in Massachusetts, p. 89

² Sewall's Diary, ii. 246.

³ Ibid., i. 464.

⁴ The following list of the Rev. John Higginson's published writings is compiled from the " Prince Library Catalogue " of

It is unnecessary here to trace into its wide ramifications the posterity of Francis Higginson.

The career of his son John, through whom the the Boston Public Library (1870). It is possible, however, that it is incomplete.

1. The Cause of God and his People in New-England [An Election] Sermon, on the 27 day of May, 1663. Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green, 1663 pp. (4) 24 4°. [Extracts are also included in *Elijah's Mantle . . . by Four Servants of God*. Boston, 1722, edited by Increase Mather. John Higginson's Sermon occupies the second volume.]

2. Our Dying Saviour's Legacy of Peace. Also a Discourse on the Two Witnesses. Boston: Printed by Samuel Green for John Usher, near the Town House, 1686. pp. (14) 205. 8°.

3. Address to the Reader of [N. Morton's] *New England's Memoriall*. Boston, 1669. [Signed also by Thomas Thacher.]

4. Epistle Dedicatory to [N. Noyes's] *New-England's Duty*. Boston, 1669. [Noyes was J. H.'s colleague. The Epistle includes 10 pp.]

5. Epistle to the Reader of [J. Hale's] *Modest Enquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft* Boston, 1702

6. Preface to [Cotton Mather's] *Winter Meditations* Boston, 1693. [pp. 16.]

7 [and William Hubbard]. *A Testimony to the Order of the Gospel, In the Churches of New England*. Boston, 1701. pp. 15. [Reprinted also in Samuel Mather's *The Self-Justiciary corrected*. Boston, 1707, where it occupies pp. 19-27]

All these books are in the Prince Library (Boston Public Library); the Harvard College Library has Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5; the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, Mass., has Nos. 1, 2, 5, 7; the Boston Athenæum Library has No 1; and I myself have Nos 2 and 6. John Higginson's "Advice to his Children," called his *Dying Testimony*, was apparently not published during his lifetime, but was printed from manuscript in the hands of a descendant (B F. Browne, Esq., of Salem, Mass.), in the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, ii. 97. Compare *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 3d ser, vii. 222.

whole line of the American descent flowed, has been already sketched. Francis Higginson's oldest grandson, also named John, was a prominent merchant and magistrate of Salem, long a member of the Governor's Council, and lieutenant-colonel of the regiment. His brother Nathaniel—also a grandson of Francis—graduated at Harvard College in 1670, and soon went to England, becoming ultimately the Governor of the English colony of Madras, where he bore an honorable reputation. An extended correspondence between him and his brother John (1692-1700) has been published in the Massachusetts Historical Collections.¹ Hopes seem to have been entertained of his appointment as governor of the Massachusetts Colony, when he died in England in 1708, the year of his father's death. The succeeding representatives of the name for several generations were men of public spirit and public office in the Massachusetts Colony. The last of one line of descent—and that the elder—was a woman of remarkable qualities, Miss Mehitable Higginson, who with her widowed mother kept for many years the leading school for girls in Salem, and educated successive generations. There is much testimony to her influence as a teacher. One of her pupils says of her: "Being

¹ Third series, vii 196. Wheeler, the historian of Madras, says of him: "Higginson seems to have been the first governor of Madras on record who retired from office without a stain upon his name." Compare Sibley's "Harvard Graduates," ii. 316.

asked what she taught, she laughingly replied: 'Ethics.' Yet to a superficial observer it might seem that she taught nothing. Her manners were courtly, and her conversation was replete with dignity, kind feeling, and sound sense." Hawthorne is said to have drawn from her his Esther in the "Province House Tales," though Hawthorne's sister-in-law, Miss E. P. Peabody, thinks the resemblance very remote. It lay partly in the fact that both she and her mother were stanch loyalists, like Esther, never would acknowledge the validity of the American Republic, and were in part supported by a pension from the crown in consideration of their loyalty. The mother died at the age of ninety-four, and the daughter (July 19, 1846) at eighty-two.¹

It is interesting to note that Francis Higginson was the progenitor of three conspicuous political leaders in New England at the period immediately succeeding the Revolution, — George Cabot, John Lowell, and Stephen Higginson. In our own day the list of his descendants has included one of the three greatest of the Union generals, William Tecumseh Sherman, as it also included one of the most conspicuous of the "War-Governors," John Albion Andrew. Among his posterity are, or have lately been, three United States

¹ For a full account of Miss Hetty Higginson, as she was usually called, see the "Salem Gazette," July 21, 1846; and there is a delightful sketch of her by Miss E. P. Peabody in Barnard's "American Journal of Education" (July 15, 1880), v. 588.

senators, — William Maxwell Evarts, George Frisbie Hoar, and John Sherman, — with three members of the lower house, — John Forrester Andrew, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Sherman Hoar. The list further includes prominent lawyers, such as Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar and John Lowell; clergymen, such as Stephen Higginson Tyng, William Henry Channing, and James Handasyd Perkins; physicians, such as Samuel Cabot, Walter Channing the younger, Charles Pickering Putnam, and James Jackson Putnam; authors and scholars, such as William Ellery Channing the younger, Charles Timothy Brooks, James Elliot Cabot, and John Torrey Morse; university professors such as Simeon E. Baldwin and Edward Channing; soldiers of the Civil War, such as Charles Russell Lowell, James Jackson Lowell, Stephen George Perkins, Charles James Paine, Henry Lee Higginson, Francis L. Lee, Edward Clark Cabot; naval officers, such as Francis John Higginson; and citizens highly eminent for public service, such as Henry Lee and Robert Treat Paine. Thus widely spread and intermingled, after six or seven generations of descent, may be a single strain of Puritan ancestry. In this instance the stock has surely shown some vitality and vigor, and perhaps something of transmitted public spirit, and of interest in things higher than those which are merely material. These descendants have remained loyal, as Americans, to the verdict of their early progenitor, that "one sup of New England air is better than a whole flagon of old English ale;" and many of them have shown in their lives

an adherence to John Higginson's opinion, "that if any man amongst us make religion as twelve and the world as thirteen, let such an one know he hath neither the spirit of a true New England man nor yet of a sincere Christian."

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